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AN ANGLO-FRENCH LIFE OF SAINT OSITH

BY

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AN ANGLO-FRENCH LIFE OF ST OSITH

THE manuscript from which this life is taken—Welbeck 1C1—is sufficiently well known to readers of the *Modern Language Review* to need no further description¹. In the fourteenth century it belonged to a nunnery at Campsey, near Woodbridge in Suffolk², where it was used for pious readings at mealtimes³. It contains the following thirteen lives: (1) *St Elizabeth of Hungary*, (2) *St Panuce* (*Paphnucius*, probably by Bozon), (3) *St Paul the Hermit* by Bozon, (4) *St Thomas of Canterbury* by Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, (5) *St Mary Magdalene*, (6) *St Edward the Confessor*, (7) *St Edmund of Canterbury*, (8) *St Audry of Ely* by a certain 'Marie,' (9) *St Osith*, (10) *St Faith* by Simon of Walsingham, (11) *St Modwenna*, (12) *St Richard of Chichester* by Peter of Peckham, (13) *St Catherine of Alexandria* by Sister Clemence of Barking⁴.

It will be noticed that no less than seven of the above lives are those of British saints; many of them exist in no other manuscripts.

The legend of St Osith or rather Osgitha, is a hopeless tangle of anachronisms if we are content to follow the text printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, III, Oct. 7, pp. 936-44, nor can the skill of the editor reduce its contradictory statements to order. Much of the conflicting data disappears, however, when we only take into account the simple

¹ See Vols. III, p. 374, IV, p. 491. *Romania*, xxxii, p. 637.

² Cf. my article, *Romania*, xxxviii, p. 418.

³ The MS. bears the remark: 'Ce livre [est] deviseie a la priorie de Kampseie de lire a mengier.'

⁴ No. 1 has been published by Prof. L. Karl in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, xxxiv, 295; Nos. 2, 3 and 12 by the present editor in *Romania*, xxxviii, 418; *Modern Language Review*, iv, and *Revue des langues romanes*, July 1910 respectively. No. 4 has been published by Hippeau (Paris, 1859) and Bekker (Berlin, 1838) but not on this MS.; Prof. Oelsner has an edition in hand on all the MSS. No. 5 has been published by Reinisch in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. neu. Sprach.*, lxiv, 15-94, and Prof. Karl has given the variants of the Welbeck MS. in *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, xxxiv, 362; No. 6: see the article of P. Meyer in *Romania*, xi, p. 43, where 186 lines are printed; No. 13 by Jarník: *Dvě Verse starofrancouzské Legendy*, Prague, 1894. I have nearly ready for the press an edition of *St Modwenna* and in an advanced state editions of Nos. 7 and 10. I have photographs of all the remaining lives and am preparing editions of them.

recital contained in the oldest of the MSS. extant, viz., Bodley 285. So straightforward does this version appear that I have decided to print it as footnotes to the French text at such places as its narrative fits the French poem. Readers will then see how the legend has grown and be able to decide what may be regarded as interpolations in our text.

The story as contained in MS. Bodley opens with the list of the pious descendants of Penda of Mercia, who, though remaining till the end of his life a heathen, permitted his relatives to embrace Christianity: then comes the betrothal of Osgitha to Siherus, king of the East Saxons, the reference to the various devices by which she prevented her husband from consummating the marriage, the announcement of the appearance of the white stag, the chase, Siher's return after many days to find that Osgitha has profited by his absence to receive the veil from Ecce and Bedewin; Siher's grief at the decision of his wife; his gift of the manor of Chich as a dowry and the precise date 653. The next items are the martyrdom of Osgitha at the hands of pirates, the incident of her carrying her head into the Church of St Peter and St Paul, the smearing of the church door with her bloody hands, her burial at the entrance of the choir. After some miracles have been worked at her tomb, her body is first translated to a place in the middle of the choir and then, under Bishop Maurice of London (1087-1107), the body was again removed and placed behind the high altar. The French poet takes no account of the next item—the glass ampulla and the miracles worked by the balsam it contained¹, but a reference is made in the text of the *Acta* (§ 11) and in the MS. Cotton, Tiberius, folio 248 to the healing of a deaf-mute. Finally our MS. mentions that Richard (1108-28), successor to Maurice in the see of London, honoured the saint and settled regular canons at Chich in 1120; it suggests that large numbers of miracles were worked by the virtues of the holy Osgitha but mentions one only which took place in the times of Bishop Richard. This is the story of the theft of the piece of marble by German sailors who called at the mouth of the Colne during their voyage from Yarmouth to Antwerp (ll. 857-1064).

It has been objected that the legend of St Osgitha as above related, puts Siher ten years and the bishops Ecce and Bedewin twenty years too early, but Siher is mentioned in Bede (III, 30) for the year 665 as returning to heathenish practices during a plague in his dominions and as being re-converted by Bishop Jaruman and there seems no reason why he should not have been married to Osgitha twelve years previously;

¹ It should be noted that MS. Lansdown also omits this, see footnote to lines 825-56.

again the appellation of Ecça and Bedewin as 'pastores et pontifices' is not conclusive evidence that they were bishops at the time Osgitha took the veil, as the second term may be merely anticipatory—the French text says of them:

Prestres esteient ordinez
Et seinz evesques puis sacrez (417-18).

The first addition to the legend we may take to be posterior to Richard¹ bishop of London who died in 1198. There is no evidence for it outside the French text which tells that this bishop coveted the wealth of the canons of Chich—their importance may be adduced from the fact that their first prior, William de Corbeuil, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1123; and their wealth from the imposing list of benefactors and manors and that at the time of the suppression the priory was valued at over seven hundred pounds per annum—and sent his seneschal to forbid them to enjoy the emoluments of their office. This is a curious side-light on the character of this bishop; for from the *Vita magni sancti Hugonis* (Hugh of Lincoln) we learn that in November 1197 there came a demand from King Richard for 300 knights, or money sufficient to hire as many mercenaries, to serve against Philip of France. The Archbishop (Hubert of Canterbury) convened a council of bishops and barons at Oxford, and some of the bishops were evidently indignant at the command for we have the Bishop of Lincoln protesting: 'I know that the Church of Lincoln is bound to provide military service for our Lord the King, but only in this country; outside England no service is due.' The Bishop of London, on the contrary, speaking as Dean of the province, declared his willingness to comply with the King's demand, wishing evidently to stand well with the King and recoup himself from the possessions of the canons of Chich. For his punishment I know no authority but the French text; in William of Malmesbury, however, we find that Richard—the founder of Chich—suffered from paralysis and intended to retire to Chich; the two Richards must have been confused. The second addition we must consider to be the connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. Leland in the *Itinerary*, VIII, ii, fo. 92, gives the heads of the life of Osith ascribed to a certain Albericus Verus (see above, footnote to Richard) canon of Chich and dated 1250. To him is perhaps due the

¹ Richard Fitz-Neal, chancellor and author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, cf. Schofield, *Anglo-Latin Literature in English Literature from the Conquest to Chaucer*.

The reference in Dugdale (Stevens' translation, p. 140) is as follows: 'St Osith's Priory at Chich in Essex, founded by Richard Belmeis, bp. of London, with a design to have resigned his bishoprick and become a Canon Regular himself but that he was prevented by death. Albericus Verus figures here as one of the benefactors.'

connection of Osgitha with Modwenna. One must remember that there are probably three different holy women of the name of Modwenna (or Monenna) whose deeds go to build up the story of that saint. The connecting link between Modwenna and the subject of our manuscript must be looked for in the similarity between the list of the pious ancestresses of Osgitha and the various Mercian princesses who lived in religion and were connected with Modwenna; the Edith (daughter of Ethelwulf) of Streaneshalh (Whitby) must have suggested the Edith (daughter of Egbert) of Streveshal in the forest of Arderne—Warwickshire and companion of Modwenna—the names are constantly confused in the MSS.¹ In the lives of Modwenna, both in that of Conchubranus and in the later one of Geoffrey of Burton, appears a maiden Osid or Osith but no mention is made in either of her forbears. It is not clear from which of these the writer of the Latin text published in the *Acta* took his story of the three-day immersion of Osith in the river Anchora but the French poet probably knew the version of Conchubranus, and not that of Geoffrey as Hardy (Descriptive Catalogue, i, 2, No. 1097) suggests. In Conchubranus alone (II, 8) we find a mention of Osith accompanying Modwenna to Rome (cf. line 211) and in it the bridge is said to be 'unum lignum' (II, 9) like the French 'd'un sul tref' (line 275). It will be noted that the adapter of the Bodley text says he will tell only one miracle—that of the German sailors—he may probably have known, though he omits, that of the paralytic woman which is told in an abbreviated form in the *Acta* and the Cotton MS.² Her lapse from the paths of righteousness, punishment and second healing are similar to the previous story in the same text, where a girl whose arms are paralysed had been cured, but breaking her vow of continence by marriage, the same penalty is imposed and on further repentance she is again healed (AA. SS. § 11). As to the other MSS. mentioned by Hardy, MS. Tanner 15, pp. 445–8 is identical with the text of the *Acta*, MS. Lansdown 436 ff. 29, 30 is identical with Bodley 285 except for an occasional change in spelling or word order and a number of omissions

¹ Cf. the excellent edition by Esposito in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. xxviii, and the MSS. Mostyn and Royal, 15 B. iv, which will be printed in my edition of Modwenna.

² AA. SS. § 11. 'Mulierem contractam Virgo sancta erexit.

'Puella quædam officio brachii adeo privata, ut lateri ejus inseparabiliter inhæreret, cum meritis S. Osithæ perfectæ sanata esset, votum continentiæ nuncupavit; sed postea cum quodam juvene matrimonium contraxit. Ei S. Ositha apparens, cur temerario ausu vota, quæ distinxerunt labia sua, rupisset, spurcissimum conjugium impropere, redarguit, et compedum vinculo invisibili pedes ejus arctius constrinxit, ut pedem pedi subjectum divellere non valens officio pedum prorsus destituta ultionis divinæ flagellum sentiret. At tandem tamen meritis sanctæ virginis sospitate reddita, correctius deinde vivere studuit.'

which we note by () in the text here printed, while Bodley 240 is a series of *Lectiones*¹.

Our author (or authors, cf. below) does not appear to have used any of the MSS. that have been enumerated; thus he mentions Osgitha's birthplace as Querendon (line 184) as does Leland (quoted by Dugdale); in the chase King Siher pursues the stag as far as Dunwich (line 616) which seems to be an addition of his own; the names of the pirates responsible for Osgitha's execution are Ynguar and Ubba (line 770) known only from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 870, and they are mentioned as the slayers of Eadmund both in the poem (line 776) and in the same year in the Chronicle. According to the Chronicle these Danes came down from Mercia and settled at Thetford and pushed their plunderings thence, while in the French poem they landed near Chich (line 792). Then, too, as has been pointed out, the whole story of Richard's persecution of the canons of Chich and his punishment rests on no known source. That the sources for a poem should only be preserved in outline is unfortunately very common. It happens only rarely that a French poem and its Latin source form a close parallel as is the case with Peter of Peckham's life of St Richard of Chichester and with St Modwenna; this is natural, however, when we consider that the mass of material was so great that 'abbreviations' were necessary and that these, put into the order of the liturgical year, form the legends which are in so many cases only preserved².

The portion of the Welbeck MS. which contains the life of St Osith is in a good late thirteenth century hand and very legible; the MS. we may suppose to have been put together early in the fourteenth century—there are three different hands and perhaps more³; we may assume that our portion dates somewhere about 1260–70. On reading the poem we are struck by a discrepancy in the language and scansion. The early parts dealing with Osith's youth, i.e., the first 180 lines or so—the marriage, the taking of the veil; the chase; the martyrdom; the incident of the sailors; the paralytic woman—as we shall state in greater detail later, do not appear attributable to a date later than the end of the twelfth century. The last incident concerning Bishop Richard must be later than his death in 1198 but probably very little later; while the Modwenna story may belong to the second half of the

¹ I have to thank Mr Winstedt of the Bodleian Library for this information.

² See Paul Meyer's articles in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxiii, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi, etc., etc., also the *English Legendary* in E.E.T.S., Vol. 87.

³ Prof. Karl has promised a fuller description of the MS. in a forthcoming number of the *Revue des langues romanes*.

thirteenth century. In the paragraphs dealing with the language and versification we call this episode (B) and the former (A).

As has been often stated, Anglo-French is not a distinct dialect showing normal and regular development, and phenomena that would be adequate for approximate dating in other dialects are useless here unless supported by other evidence. It may be well however to enumerate certain linguistic traits and to compare them with other Anglo-French works; for this purpose we take the *Vie de saint Gilles* of Guillaume de Berneville, the works of Simund de Freine and those of Chardry, dated by their editors at about 1170, the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century respectively.

1. Cases of the confusion of *e* < Latin *a* with *ie* < *a* preceded by palatal or *ǣ* occur with ever increasing frequency till by the beginning of the thirteenth century rimes where the two sounds are kept distinct are due only to chance. Our text only offers cases of this confusion in the parts called (A) and (B), cf. § 17. This must be due to some special reason, which I have been unable to determine and which I think could only be determined if we had sufficient manuscript material for a sound critical text. Even if we could consider the whole poem, except the episode (B), now published as of one writer and one period, the fact that only three instances of this confusion occurred would still be remarkable. This phenomenon cannot help then for the dating of the poem; it might point to the author being a Frenchman of France if other facts bore this out, but they do not seem to do so.

2. From the foregoing we shall understand that there can be no rimes such as *cel* < *cælum* : *el* < *alum* for *aliud*; this is also true for St Gilles (which, however, confuses *ie* with *é*) whereas Simund and Chardry know this confusion.

3. Confusion of infinitives in *-er* < *-are* and those in *-er* (for *eir*) < *ére* is unknown to St Gilles and our poem, whereas cases of this are in Simund and Chardry; cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, I, p. 210.

4. Confusion of infinitives in *-ier* with those in *-er* (for *eir*) < *ére* does not occur in St Gilles and in our poem only in (B), cf. § 17, but there are certain cases in Simund and in Chardry.

5. *-ai* and *-ei* final; these vowels are kept distinct in St Gilles and in our poem, but in Simund and Chardry there are cases of confusion. This confusion seems to date from the last decade of the twelfth century.

6. *-eie* and *-ée* final. This rime only occurs with the word *veie* < *via* and a few past participles of the first conjugation, cf. ll. 811, 1185, 1207,

1333. This is fully discussed in § 15; although the spelling *-ei* for *-e* occurs in many texts I have not met it in rime with *-é* except in *Frère Angier* (1212-14) and *Chardry*, who has *monée* < *moneta* in rime with *dunée* and *aportée* [*Sept Dormans*, 1205, 1291].

7. *-ais* and *-eis*. Our poem has no instances of rimes in *-ais* and only one in *-eis*, viz. *reis* : *Engleis* 131, cf. § 15, nor does it mix *-ais* with *-es*; it has pure rimes in open *e*, cf. § 3. This must be due to chance as cases of this confusion are found in *Gaimar*, *Adgar* as well as in *St Gilles* and *Simund*. In spite of *Koch's* assertion that *Chardry* keeps the sounds separate, we have *curteise* : *pleise* and *treis* : *mauveis* in the *Petit Plet*.

8. *-ait* and *-eit*. These sounds are kept distinct in *St Gilles* and in our poem, cf. §§ 13, 15; some hesitation in *Simund* and *Chardry*.

9. *-air* and *-eir*; e.g. *detrainre* : *creire*. These are distinct in *St Gilles*; our poem contains one case viz., *feire* : *trere* 1195, cf. § 15. Confusion is frequent in *Simund* and *Chardry*.

10. *-aire* and *-ère*; e.g. *faire* : *terre*; confusion in *St Gilles* and in *Simund* and *Chardry*; our poem, probably only by chance, has these rimes distinct, cf. § 3.

11. *-ui* and *u*. This change of *-ui* to *u* does not take place exclusively on English ground; before *s* it is common in Norman. In *St Gilles* the sounds are kept distinct; in our poem confusion is only found before *s* and *t*. In *Simund* the change occurs in addition before *r*, e.g., *dedure* : *dure* [S. G. 123], while in *Chardry* it is found even when the vowel is final, e.g., *ennu* : *vertu* [*Jos.*, 2925].

12. *-eus* < *-alis* or *-illos*; these endings are distinct in *St Gilles* but confused in *Simund* and in *Chardry*; there are no instances in rime in our poem.

13. *-an* and *-en* + consonant. No confusion in *St Gilles*, our poem nor in *Simund*, whereas *Chardry* has some cases of confusion, viz., *obeisanz* : *cumandemenz* [*Jos.*, 555].

14. *-ain* and *-ein*. These sounds are not found riming together in *St Gilles*, but our poem has *main* : *sein* < *sinus* 667. In *Simund* and *Chardry* confusion is common, cf. § 14.

15. *-ien*. The rimes on this vowel are pure in *St Gilles*, in our poem and in *Simund*. There is of course the regular variation with *nient*, cf. § 18.

16. *s* and *z*. These consonants are kept distinct in rime in *St Gilles*, in our poem and in *Chardry*; there is one case of confusion in *Simund*, cf. § 32.

17. *-eit* added to verbs of the first conjugation unknown to St Gilles and to Simund is found in our poem only in (A) and (B). In Chardry this mistake is regular, cf. § 55, iv.

18. The feminine *e* is rarely mute in the body of the poem, very frequently in (B) and less frequently in (A), cf. § 5.

From this rapid survey it appears that the bulk of our poem must be placed near the end of the twelfth century and that it is probably older than the works of Simund de Freine and of Chardry. The other portions may, as I have already suggested, be placed in the early part and in the second half of the thirteenth century respectively. The reasons for the divisions (A) and (B) will be made plainer in the paragraphs dealing with versification.

Ici comence la vie seinte Osith
virge e martire.

Tuz sont alez, sachez en fin,
28 Si vous atendent en chemin;

⁸⁴
^{v⁸a} Ceo nus mustre seinte escripture
Bon fu ki met en Deu sa cure,
Et aime e creient son creatur
4 Plus ke ne fet autre seigniur;
Ki l'aime e creient e bien le sert,
Ne ci ne aillurs ja ne pert;
Ki guerpist terre pur son non
8 Ciel li donne de gueredon;
Ne change cil pas follement
Ke terre lesse e le ciel prend;
Ne follement ne change mie
¹³⁴
^{v⁸b} Ke lesse mort e receit vie;
Cil change bien, cil change a dreit
Ki mort lesse e vie receit;
Kar certes del mund la richesse
16 N'est fors d'olur e granz tristesse;
Honur del mund est trespasable,
Et a nus tuz mut poi estable.
Ki ne volt creire ne saveir,
20 Bien l'os dire, fols est pur veir.
Veum par ceus ke sunt alé—
Nos ancestres e trespasé;
U sont nos aels e nos peres
24 U [sont] nos uncles e nos meres,
Ke tant furent riches e beaus,
Assez orent dras e chiviaus?

Quel jur son cire ert aprestez;
Pur ceo vus di, si l'entendez,
32 Ki aime Deu bour fu nez.
Kar tant cum il Deu amera,
E son servise meintendra,
Pur veir vus di, n'estut doter
36 Quel jur deive del siecle aler.
A Deu tant bonz fu finement
Ke de seinz Deu exemple prent,
Ki guerpirent terre e honur
40 Et tut le mund pur Deu amur,
Et soffrirent hunte e esclandre,
Pur Deu firent lur sanc espandre;
En bone entente e (en) bon espoir
44 Mort donerent pur vie avoir;
De tels a grant plente trovum
¹³⁵
^{v⁸a} En seinz escriz ke nus lisum;
Et nient de madles solement,
48 Mes de femmes tuit ensement.
Seintes (e) veraies Deu aneles,
Et d'alquantes tendres puceles,
Ke tut le mund unt refusé
52 Pur prendre sei a Dampned(u),
Et suffrirent pur son non
Ou veraie conpunction.
De une tele volum parler

2 Cf. § 44 iii.

6 Cf. § on Hiatus.

21 MS. *œus* *par* *ke*...

32 MS. *bonz*: the emendation seems certain, for the expression *bor* (*beor*, *buer*, etc.) *est nez* is exceedingly common, cf. line 1424, but it does not render the line correct in scansion. Cf. § 64. It is interesting to note that the *bor i alasses* of *Alexis*, 90 e figures in one MS. also as *bon*....

37 The reading *bonz* should perhaps be again emended, the sense would be improved, though the tense is awkward.

38 *ke*=*qui*, cf. § 49.

48 *ui* for *u* (o), cf. § 10.

50 MS. *de qñz*.

53 The line might be corrected by inserting *mut* before *suffrirent*; the verb requires an object, cf. vv. 41, 42 above.

56 Ke durement fet a loer,
 Ke Deu ama e Deu servi,
 Et tut le mund pur li guerpi;
 Et pur son vrai creatur
 60 Guerpi son terrien seignur.
 Li reis estoit fort e puissant
 Pur Deu l'ad tut refusant,
 Pur li suffri peine e dolur,
 64 Et martyre a chef de tur.
 La virge dunt [vus] voil parler
 Sovent avez oy nomer,
 Sa vie n'est guerres leue,
 68 Ne cum dreit fust par tut seue;
 Ele est par non Osyd nomée,
 De Engleterre nurrie e née;
 A Deu voua son pucelage,
 72 E bien le tint tut son [e]age;
 Sa vie est bele e gloriuse,
 Seinte e duce e precieuse;
 En cest romanz purrum oir
 76 A prendre bien e retenir
 De saint Osith e de sa vie,
 Cum Deu la choisi a amie;
 Cum Deu l'aveit amé et chere—
 80 Mustré l'ad en meinte manere;
 Par miracles e par vertu
 Ke en plusiurs lius sunt avenu,
 Et bien veu par Engleterre,
 84 Et en la peis e en la guerre;
 Ke Deus i ad fet apareir
 Et nuit e jur, (e) matin e seir;
 Entendez i communament,
 88 Kar ge le vus di seurement,
 Meuz vaut oir ici entour
 Ke de la geste paenur,
 De Guercedin e de Saisons,
 92 Deu enemis e felons,
 E d'autre teus pur verité,
 U l'em vus ment a grant plenté;
 Ky aime e ot la vanité,
 96 Deu li en set mut [de] malgré.

Des seinz Deu la veraie estoire
 Devum aver bien en memoire;
 Kar quant nus la folur oum,
 100 Essample souvent en pernum;
 Ky sen escute e sen entent
 Il en amende mut sovent.
 De seinte Osith or(e) vous dirum,
 104 Si cum en l'escrit le trovum;
 Certes mut fet a amer,
 Et a criendre e a duter;
 Mut par est bien de Deu lasus,
 108 Bien le direz kant orez plus;
 Mut est dutuse a curucer,
 Kar tantost pense sei venger;
 N'i ad mester coruz ne plait,
 185
 v^o a Tost se venge ki se mesfait,
 Cum vus avant orrez assez;
 En cest romanz si l'entendez,
 Ne serrez de fables peu,
 116 Mes de miracles e (de)vertu,
 Ke Deus en Engleterre fist
 Pur seinte Osith k'a li se prist;
 Si en crei ke volenters l'orast
 120 Ke seinte Osith gre le sav(er)ast;
 Kar ki voudra bien peut aider
 Vers Dampnedeu e avancier.
 Ore entendez bien dunc sa vie
 124 Ke en puissez aver aie,
 Sucurs e son amendement
 Vers Dampnedeu omnipotent.
 La virge Deu tant bonurée
 128 Ke seinte Osith est apellée,
 Gentil esteit de parenté,
 Fillie ert au rei mut renomé,
 En Engleterre esteit cil reis,
 132 Fredeyold l'apelent Engleis.
 Seinte Osith ot cil rei a pere,
 Withborc reine fu sa mere
 Ke esteit fillie Pende le rey,
 136 De grant puissance e de nobley,
 Et mut out en subjection;

62 Cf. § 56 corr. *li va refusant*.65 The spelling *virgine* (cf. l. 382) could be adopted instead of amending *vus*.

74 Cf. § on Hiatus.

88 Cf. § 5 ii (d).

89 It is common in Agn. didactic poems to find epic and lyric poetry decried; cf. my note in *Vie de Saint Richard*, l. c.91 The king of the Saxons in the *Chanson des Saisnes* of Jean Bodel; a large number of variants of the name exist, but this seems to be a new one.92 Some word seems to be missing from the text, perhaps *mals*.

97 Cf. § 20.

105 A small space is left in the MS.; perhaps *ele* should have been inserted. Reasons why St Osith should be feared are furnished by the miracles.

106 Cf. § on Hiatus.

119 Cf. § 53.

120 Cf. § 59.

121-2 Cf. § 55.

vv. 126-50 Beata virgo et martir Osgitha ex nobilissima Anglorum stirpe extitit orta. Erat filia Fredeswaldi regis (atque Wilburge regine, filie Pende regis de quo Beda in tercio ecclesiastice Anglorum istorie libro mencionem facit). Qui Penda licet in paganissimo usque ad finem sue vite permansisset filium tamen christianissimum nomine Peadam et filias neptesque et proneptes sanctissimas habuit, (quorum corpora per Angliam diversis in locis quiescunt). [Bodley, 285 f^o, 121 r^o b.] Omissions in MS. Lansdown shown by ().

- Seint Bede en fait grant mention
En cele estoire des Engleis,
140 E dist tut fust cil paens reis;
Il out enfanx de bone fey,
Verais en crestiene ley;
Un fiz aveit mut renomé
144 Fillies e neces a (grant) plenté
¹³⁵ Ki se pristrent de Deu de tut,
^{v^o b} Amerent e servirent mut.
Le reis Pende dunt ay parlé
148 Les chers enfanx out engendré
Ke Dampnedeu a sei choisi;
Lur non avez assez oy:
L'une est nomé[e] Keneburc,
152 Et l'autre ad non Eadurc,
Seinte Osith fu del parenté,
(Kar) lur niece fu pur verité;
Exemple prist de lur chasteté,
156 Pur Dampnedeu servir a gré.
Entains en sa primere enfance
En fiz Deu aveit sa fiance;
Entente e tute s'amur
160 Aveit en Deu son creatur;
Richesce aveit a grant noblei
Si cume fillie a riche rei;
Plente de vivre e de manger,
164 Et quanque l'em en mund ad cher;
Mes trestut ce petit preisa,
Pur Deu despit e tut lessa,
La richesce ne tut le bien,
168 K'en mund veit ne preise rien;
Bien le sachez ke la pucele
De face esteit e clere e bele,
De cors bien fete e acmée,
172 Mes plus dedenz fu esmerée;
Riches e povres refusa,
Son pucelage a Deu voua,
Et cil requist come seignur
176 Ke violée ne seit nul jur;
Et Dampnedeu bien l'en oy,
¹³⁶ Par sa ducur e sa merci
^a Ne perdi sa virginité(e),
180 Pur nul home de mere né(e);
Unc (nul) hom de ce ne la conut,
Virge nasqui, virge morut.
La vile u seinte Osith fu née
184 Querendone est apellée;
- Assez sevent li paisant
K'en la contrée sunt manant,
Plusurs [del] luitain autresi,
188 Le liu u seinte Osith nasqui;
Enseignie i ad assez apert,
Ke puet chescum fere cert,
Unkes puis jekes a cest jur
192 Au liu n'out herbe ne verdur:
Par son nestre est le liu sacré,
(Et) de tut humein us sequestré;
Demeters k'en ceste vie fu,
196 Deu fist pur lui mut grant vertu,
Et pus k'est martir mut a fest,
Dunt partie orrez si vus plect,
Pur vus joir ge [vus] dirray,
200 Une partie ke apris ay;
Si cum avant [ge] vus disai[e]
Kant des parenz Osith tuchai[e];
Seinte Osith out grant parenté
204 De grant richesce e (de grant)
seinteté,
Aels e uncles de grant poesté,
Auntes e neces de grant chasteté;
Li plus[or] d'eus sunt assemblé,
208 Au pere Osith sunt conseillié
Ke a tel mestre seit Osith baillié[e]
K'en nule manere seit afole[e].
¹³⁶ A Modwin baillier a plus plout,
^{v^o b} 212 A cest consent le conseil finout,
Kant la pucele parler saveit,
A Modwen l'abesse baillie esteit;
A merveille ama e chere tint,
216 A Rome fu, ou li revint.
Ceste Modwene dunt ay dist,
Juste Ardene deus musters fist;
L'un a Polesvurche ce dient la gent,
220 L'autre en Stranesrale vereiment.
Modwen en l'un sujurna,
A Edith l'autre otreia;
Al rei Edfrid esteit seur,
224 Modwen ver li out grant amur.
Un jur issi aveneit
K'en oreisuns Modwen loinz aleit;
A Edith Osith enveia
228 Ke bien la preist kar mut l'ama;
Sa compaignie out long tens esté
Mut fu de lui joieuse e lée;

155 See § 70.

157 Cf. § 59.

vv. 151-6 (Nam sancta Keneburga et sancta Edburga ejus filie sancta vero Mildridtha neptis et sancta Werburga sanctaque Elstreda et sancta Elgida proneptes ejus fuisse testantur cronica.) [Bodley, *ibid.*]

172 Cf. § 65.

184 Cf. § on Versification. For this see Introduction. Quarrendon is a village 1½ miles N.W. of Aylesbury. There exist the remains of an early church.

185 Cf. § 31, and English tyrant, parchment and their French equivalents. Cf. l. 589 and § 31.

190 Cf. §§ 59, 65.

200 Cf. § 45.

205 Cf. § 70.

211 For the Modwenna episode, cf. Introduction.

212 Cf. § 68.

218 MS. *teus*.

221 Cf. § 65.

223 Corr. *serur*, cf. § 43, iv.

225 Cf. § 65.

226 Cf. § 67.

- Aukes [de] tens ert trespasé,
 232 Modwene a muster est repaïré,
 Un livre out trové Edithz,
 Plein de proverbes e (de) bonz diz;
 Exemples i trova a grant plenté,
 236 De vertuz e de seinteté;
 Ne vot cel bien sule celer,
 Mes ou Modwen comunier,
 A volage ne vot baillier
 240 Ki l'empeireit de leger.
 Osith apella par grant ducur:
 'Plereit, dist ele, bele seur,
 'A nostre mere Modwen aler,
 186
 'A li cest livre par moi porter;
 245 'Dirrez ke granz biens i puet trover,
 'Dunt se memes puet amender,
 'Et par doctrines k'ele trovera
 248 'Tuz les sens amender purra.'
 Osith encline, lui otria,
 Dist ke volenters i irra;
 Le livre prent, rien ne resta,
 252 Mes al aler se [a]presta.
 Ha Deu ke Edith ne seust l'aventure
 K'avendreit a Osith en ceste ure,
 Ne la lerreit aler (si cum) je crei
 256 Pur tut l'or Mide le rei.
 Si Edith seust ke li avendreit,
 Cest(e) eire emprendre ne li suffreit
 Pur tut l'or ke seit en Espaine,
 260 Ne pur [tut] l'onur de Lovaine.
 Si Edith seust ke Osith est a venir,
 Cest message ne li freit furnir,
 Pur ce k'ot Salamon le sage
 264 U Alisandre en tut son age.
 Mes Deu li cela cest conseil,
 Kar de Osith vot fere grant merveil.
 Ivern ert e mut out pleu,
 268 Pur ce la pucele n'est (re)mansu;
 A l'aube del jur (en) la matinée,
 Errant se est acheminée;
 Le livre prist e s'en ala
 272 A Modwen u Edith l'enveia.
 En cest chemin une ewe curreit,
 U la damisele passer deveit;
 Le punt fu lung e d'un sul tref,
 276 Passer comensa pouruse e suet
 186
 La rivere fu large e parfund,
 Et ele ert ja en mi le punt;
 Le vent fu fort e mut bruant,
 280 Les pans de son mantel despant,
 Mes par les taches al col remist,
 Et par les gerrons a sei (le) prist
 Son mantel ke le livre obli,
 284 Ke de ses meins en l'ewe chai;
 De cele perte fu esbai,
 Al prendre s'abessa si le suivi;
 (Bien) cuida son livre aver receu,
 288 Mes amdeuz l'ewe ad reteneu.
 Loinz de cel liu les desaka,
 (Et) en une krenke les jeta,
 [Et] bien treis arpenz loin del pont,
 292 Les graventa en un parfunt,
 La jurent amdeuz treis jurs
 Et treis nuiz sanz [aucun] succurs;
 La jurent treis jurs e treis nuiz
 296 Si enfundre en un puiz;
 Treis jurs e nuiz Osith i jut
 Iloec neé en cel duit.
 Issi Osith gesir larrum,
 300 Et de sa dame nus cunterum.
 Del quart jur s'esclarzi la matinée,
 Edith s'est mut esmerveillée
 Ke feist Osith tant targer;
 304 Dist k'ele irra l'encheson saver.
 En son quer suffri grant batestal,
 Bien leva devant le chant de gal,
 Errant se mist a cheminal;
 308 Modwen l'encuntre par esperital;
 Si cum Edith aveit veu
 187
 Modwen silence ad derumpu;
 Bien par son semblant ad aparcu
 312 K'ele fu dolente et irascu.
 'Edith, bele seur, k'estes dolente?'
 'Dame: (dit Edith) ore oez qui me
 turmente,
 'Damoisele Osith vus enveiai,
 316 'Un livre portant ke mut amay,
 'Hui est le quart jur trespasant
 'Puis n'en oi mes ne cunterment;
 'Dame, k'est ele demoré tant?'
 320 Dist Modwen: de ço 'ne soi rien
 avant.'
 Si l'une e l'autre fu esbaye,
 Ceo demander serreit folie,
 Pasturs furent leus delez,
 324 Lur bestes pessanz par ces pres;
 Les dames a eus sunt alez
 Apres saluz unt demandez:
 'Amis ke Deu vus doint sauveté,
 328 'Ceo dunt vus prium diez verité,
 'Veistes une damoisele al punt aler,
 'A la matinée li tierz jur fu er,
 'Afublé out un neir mantel?'
 332 A ceo dient li pasturel:

239 volage, cf. § 59.

253 § 53 vii.

283 MS. ken.

296 Cf. § 59.

307 *se mettre a chemin* is a known phrase, the present is used for the rime. *cheminal* appears to be very rare.

242 Cf. § 43 iv.

261-2 Cf. § 59.

290 *krenke*, cf. § 59.

306 Cf. § 48 a.

245 Omit *ke*, cf. § 53 r. iii.

281 Cf. § 59.

293 Cf. § 65.

- 'Une tele pucele cum vus querez,
 'Hui est quart jur veimes assez,
 'Amunt sur la chause passer,
 336 'Jeske al punt veimes aler,
 'Mes kar a nos bestes entendium
 'Plus n'en seumes en fei vus dium.'
 Lors ke nee[e] fust suscherent
 340 Les dames e al punt repeirerent;
 Amedeuz se mistrent en oreison,
 Ou plurs ou grant devotion,
 137
 Ke Deu lur deignast le cors muistrer,
 344 Ke suveus le puissent enterrer,
 Primes sa preere Modwen fina,
 A pont Osith deuz feiz clama:
 'Damoisele Osith venez hors
 348 'Ke veer puissum vostre cors;
 'A ceo vus doint force e vigur
 'Ke Lazre suscita al tierz jur.'
 A peine out Modwen sa voiz fini
 352 Ke de l'ewe Osith ne issi,
 Neste e secke son livre ausi,
 Et dist: 'dame veez moi ci.'
 Si cum del tut fu virgine pure,
 356 Son livre e li sunt sanz muillure.
 Ha Deu ky [dunc] pust esgarder,
 Quel joie les dames vunt demener.
 Tut le mund dust [il] refuser,
 360 Ki ces treis pust bien aviser.
 Modwen Osith ad a sei prise,
 Tant cum vesqui li est remise,
 Tant cum Modwen fu en vie,
 364 De li Osith ne fu partie.
 Ke ja ne seit celée cest miracle,
 Cum Osith en l'ewe out habitacle;
 L'euue ou Osith fu nee[e]
 368 Tut dis puis en ad renomée;
 Ke ja mes en secle ne seit celée,
 Le liu Ninnepol est apellée;
 Ke dunc fust nuncin ne di pas,
 372 Kar l'en le tendreit a folie e gas
 Si dunc fust nonein velée
 Ne fust apres reine espusée.
 Assez a[i] dist de cest veage,
 137
 Or(e) vus dirrai del mariage;
 377 Kant Modwen fu en cel mené,
 Frethuuwald sa fillie ad repellé.
 Le sunt e joius (tuit) li parent
 380 De sa porture e enseinement;
 Tuit fu son purpos e desir
 Virgine vivre e [virgine] morir.
 (En quel change serra martir)
 De cest purpos n'est ensensé
 384 Son pere, pur ceo s'est purpensé
 D'Osith, k'il la volt marier
 A poestif homme le rey Syer.
 Seinte Osith en est anguisuse,
 388 Pensive en quer e doleruse.
 Mes al pere de ceo n'est rien,
 Que que li seit eu mal eu bien,
 N'i ad rien d'escusation,
 392 Faire l'estuet eu voillie eu nun.
 Li rei fet mander ses amis,
 Baruns e cuntes del pais,
 E chivalers e autre gent,
 396 Pur lur conseil communalment.
 Al rei Syer ad fet douer
 Osith sa filie c espuser,
 Solunc la gard ke fu asis
 400 En ieel tens en lur pais.
 Syer le rey sa femme ameine,
 Ele out au quer dolor e peine,
 E Deu requert omnipotent
 404 Ou lermes mout espesement,
 Ke ja ne li seit violé
 Ceo que peça li out voé,
 Sun pucelage li purgart
 137
 Ke ne perde ne tost ne tart;
 Mes si cum s'est a lui donée,
 Bien li puisse estre gardée.
 Le jur ke seinte Osith alat.
 412 Kant li rey Syer l'enmenat,
 Witburg sa mere al departir
 Deuz homes fist ou li venir,
 Ke Dampnedeu aveient cher,
 416 Ententif mut a sun mester;
 Prestres esteient ordinez,
 Et seinz evesques puis sacrez;
 Bedewin out li un a nun,
 420 Eoca li autre cumpaignun.
 La reine ad a ceus liverée,

339 Cf. § 59, cf. Godefroy vii under *suschier* = *penser*, most of the examples are taken from Anglo-Norman sources.

341 Cf. § 64. 343, 344 *Ke* may be omitted. Cf. § 53.

350 Cf. § 66.

351 Cf. § 59. 367 *ou*, MS. *eu*, cf. ll. 390, 392.

377-8 Cf. § 44 B. iii.

385 MS. *lavoit marcer*: Godefroy v, 253 c gives *mercier quelquechose à quelqu'un* in the sense of *l'en récompenser*. The reading *marier* seems to make better sense.

386 Cf. § 60.

390-2 Cf. § 24.

vv. 384 seq. (Talibus igitur beata virgo et martir Osgitha orta parentibus) cum [MS. *Lans*, reads: cum igitur beata Osgitha..] jam adulte esset etatis invita ut postea patuit tradita est in conjugium Sihero regi orientalium Anglorum. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 401-84 Qui cum post celebratas nupcias ejus vellet uti connubio et illa ejus lasciviam diversis occasionibus diu impedisset, tandem universis pene consumptis cum quadam die ejus virginitati graviter insistens illam vi opprimere conaretur. [Bodley, *ibid.*]

417 Corr. *proveire...ordiné seint evesque...sacré*. Cf. § 43 iv and 44 iii.

- Osith sa fillie e comandée,
 Pur li garder en dreite fey,
 424 En dreit amur e en sa ley.
 Li reis Syer ses nocces tint
 Si cum a rei plus bel cuvint;
 E les plus bauz de sun regné
 428 Le jur i avei(en)t ensablé,
 Mut se peinat de sun heiter.
 La nuit quant vint puis a cocher,
 Sa femme ad fet tost demander
 432 Ke tant al quer puet desirer.
 Kant seinte Osith out la novele
 A Dieu ceo dist: 'la vostre ancele
 'Pur vostre nun or defendez,
 436 'Le vostre poer i mesteiz,
 'Si i mestrai trestut le mien
 'Ke ne seie pur nule rien
 'Hunye a nuit ne violée;
 440 'E quant me sui a vous donée,
 138a 'Defendez moy cum vostre amyne
 'Ke ne seie a nuit honye.'
 A tant si est avant venue,
 444 Si tost cum li rois l'ad veue
 Mut la coveite mut la desire
 Et seinte Osith li dist, 'beau sire,
 'Pur Deu merci, kar m'entendez,
 448 '(Et) aukes de respit me donez;
 'De ceste assemble[e] entre nus
 'Dunt vus estes tant desirus,
 'Respit vus requer sire rey,
 452 'Si ja voilliez joir de mey.'
 Cil la ne vout pur rien oir
 Mes tut dis tire a son desir.
 Cele pur rien ke sace dire,
 456 Par boneirte plus ke pur ire,
 Ne vout faire ne consentir
 A son talent n'a son pleisir.
 Mut requert termes e respiz
 460 Mes il le fait mut a enviz;
 Et nequedent tant l'ad luctée
 Requis[e] mut e travaillée;
 Par la vertu del seint esperit
 464 Ke l'oure est mis en respit;
 Deus l'ad gardé omnipotent,
 Onc ne l'aprocha charnel(e)ment,
 E gueres plus ne demora
 468 K'il autre feiz la resona
 Ke a li se vout assembler,
- Respit ne [li] vout plus doner.
 Mes seinte Osith cria merci
 472 A Dampnedeu tut autresi
 Cum aveit ele fet devant
 138b Ke par son nun l'ert defendant.
 Li reis comence a losenger,
 476 E tel oure est, a coroucer;
 Mes tant a purchasé e quis
 E tant fait entre giu e ris,
 De jur en jur est purloinié
 480 Charnelement ne ad aproché.
 Soventefeiz l'ad envaie,
 Mes Dampnedeu garda s'amie,
 K'ou son barun maneit issi
 484 Virgine treis anz e demi.
 Un jur apres issi avint
 Li reis Syer sa feste tint
 K'il fist de sa nativité;
 488 Grant poeple i out assemble
 Contes, barons e chivalers,
 Ses frankeleins e ses terrers.
 Le jur quant il aveit mangé,
 492 Et sunt partut joius e lé,
 Et il meimes bien enbeverez
 En la chambre est tut dreit alez,
 Et s'i cuche [de]sur sun lit;
 496 Kant reposé s'est un petit
 Sa femme fet a ly venir,
 Si la comence en lit gisir,
 Bien entrussement li dist,
 500 Mes ne li durra [il] respit.
 Kant seinte Osith icest entent,
 Plure des oilz mut tendrement
 Et vers le ciel la sus garda,
 504 Et Dampnedeu mut reclama,
 Ke par la sue grant vertu,
 G[ra]nt li seit en bon escu.
 138c Li reis se peine mut forment
 508 De son bon fere e sun talent,
 E ele a trestut sun poer
 Se tint cuntre l'ardent voler,
 Mes come de plus se defent
 512 Cil se deve e plus esprent,
 De son bon fere met pur veir
 Tute sa force e son poeir,
 E jure asez e dist le bien
 516 Son cuntredit ne li vaut rien.
 En ceste anguisse u ele esteit

445 Considering the great regularity of the lines of this episode, we may be justified in supposing that the repetition of *mut* is due to the scribe; the scansion would be rendered correct by reading *e* for *mut*.

459-60 Cf. § 32.

460 MS. *envis*.

461 MS. *luciee*.

464 Cf. § 59.

490 *frankeleins, terrers*, cf. § 59.

499 The full form, according to Körtling s.v. *extrorsus*, is *estrossément*, which would correct the line, but probably the line should be emended *li a dit* or *dist*, cf. § 32, and then the present form would stand, cf. § 52.

508-13 Cf. § 59.

E la dolur k'al quer aveit
 Sainte Osith ententivement
 520 Reclama Deu omnipotent,
 E dist: 'Sire Deu, vostre aye,
 'Ceste ancele, n'obliez mye,
 'Tantes feiz m'avez sucuru,
 524 'E mun cors, sire, defendu;
 'A ceste feiz, (sire) me sueurez
 'Des maus a cestui (me) delivrez,
 'Si vus promet pur verité.
 528 'Sanz enfreindre la veray voé,
 'Si vus a ceste feiz aydez
 'Pur mei succure e travailliez;
 'Puis ceste hure mettrai pur veir
 532 'Tute ina force e mun poeir
 'Ke mes travail n'avrez en pose
 'De mey ayder pur cele chose.'
 Quant seinte Osith aveit dit tant,
 536 Este vus une noyse mut grant,
 K'en cele sale est ja levée;
 La gent laenz se desree
 E haut e bas comunauement
 189
v^o b
 Crient e huchent durement,
 E vers la chambre vunt errant,
 Li un ariere li autre avant.
 'A Deu,' funt il, 'li reis u est ?
 544 'Allas, ke il ne set icest
 'K'hui en cest jur est avenu,
 'Mut se tenist a deceu,
 'Si il seust ceste aventure
 548 'Kant venn n'i est a dreite hure.'
 Ly reis escute e entent
 La grant noyse ke funt sa gent,
 Coment le vunt tut demandant
 552 E il s'en turne maintenant,
 E vers l'uis de la sale vait,
 Pur saver moun quel noise i ait;
 E puis k'il lur ad demandé,
 556 Delivrement li unt cunté
 Cum faitement un poy avant
 Un cerfs tut blanc i vint curant,
 Ke de la mer tut dreit veneit,
 560 Et si curut a grant espleit,
 La hors u bien esteit veus,

Par les braches e les seus,
 U tut esturent a lur past,
 564 Si cum les chiens rien ne dotast;
 E li brachet trestuz cuplé
 E li seuz entremedlé,
 Li autre chien petit e grant,
 568 A fort espleit le vunt siwant.
 Ly ke pout unk(es) cheval aver,
 Apres s'en est alé pur ver,
 E que cheval n'en aveit prest,
 572 Tut a pie alé s'en est.
 189
a
 Quant li reis ad iceo oy
 'Ostez,' ceo dist: 'trop ai dormi:
 'Ça, mun cheval delivrement.'
 576 E il ne s'est targié nient,
 Ainz comande trestuz munter,
 E sei meimes fet aprester,
 Puis est munté [tut] maintenant
 580 E vait le cerf a plein siwant.
 Li cerfs s'en vait ou grant bandon,
 Li reis apres e cist baron;
 Current li chien a grant espleit,
 584 E li cerf est venu tut dreit
 Desk'a un bras parfund de mer,
 U ne soleit nuls hom passer,
 Kar l'ewe esteit redde e parfunde
 588 Li cerf s'est mis tut dreit en l'unde.
 Cel bras de mer li païsant
 Castlewade vunt apellant;
 Li cerf en l'ewe noe amunt
 592 Les chiens anguissus sunt,
 Crient e funt noise mut grant.
 A nou le vunt a plein siwant,
 Li reis en est mut anguissus,
 596 Del cerf prendre mut desirus,
 Kar unkes ne vit il nul jur
 Cerf ne bisse de sa blanchur.
 Il vait puignant par cel sablon,
 600 Hurte chival de l'esperon,
 Coment chevache ne li chiiet,
 En bras de mer parfund se met,
 Red e parfund esteit le guez,
 604 Devant ceo n'ert unc mes passez
 Par home a chival ne a pié,

523 Cf. § 59.

531 Cf. § 53 iii ii.

537 Cf. § 15.

554 Cf. § 59.

vv. 558-626 Subito quidam cubiculum intrasse fertur qui regi nuntiaret cervum nive candidiorem pro foribus aule undique libere [121 v^o a] discurrere quasi regi et suis omnibus insultaret. Quod rex audiens ceptam voluntatem mox postposuit et cervum cum suis venatoribus et militibus perniciter insequitur.

572 Cf. § 65.

574 Ostez. Cf. § 59.

589 Cf. line 185.

592 It is improbable that this line is as it left the poet. The scribe may simply have omitted a member of the phrase as *e.g. de siwre* (cf. l. 595), or, what I consider more likely, have changed an older reading containing the word *seüs* (*e.g. li seus mult...*) which had become obsolete (cf. line 566—where the meaning is plain from the context—and the remark of G. Paris in *Introd. to Vie de saint Gilles*, p. xviii).

601 Cf. § 4 A.

528 Cf. § 5.

536 Read *es vus* and compare l. 905.

542 Cf. § 66.

556 Cf. § 5 ii.

¹³⁹_{vb} Trestut primes l'ad asaié.
 L'ure quant sunt li chien passé
 608 Estoit li reis parfund en gué;
 Mes li cheval iert bon e fort,
 Tut sulement se met a port.
 Ly cerf a plein en chemin entre
 612 E vunt li chien curant sur ventre,
 E li reis vient apres puigniant,
 Ses chiens a plein esbaudissant.
 Mes li cerf n'est unkes restuz,
 616 Dekes Donewiz est dreit venuz,
 Iluec s'est mis en cele mer.
 Li reis se peine del haster,
 Mes n'i put unc si tost venir,
 620 Pur rien ne put le cerf choisir.
 Ne set coment s'en est partiz
 Kar de ses oilz est evaniz.
 Les chiens esteient tut asoté,
 * 624 E sus e jus unt regardé.
 Ore penst d'autre cerf li reis,
 Kar ne verra cesti del meis.
 Tant cum li reis vait demorant,
 628 E ou ses chiens le cerf siwant,
 Seinte Osith n'ad pas oblié
 En quel pour aveit esté.
 Ainz dist ke mes ne targa
 632 De ceo k'out empensé peça;
 Coment ke li plai pust se prendre,
 A Dampnedeu se voudra rendre;
 Puis en apres la Deu ancele
 636 Tuit en secrei a sei apelle
 Seint Ecce e seint Bedewin,
 E si lur dist le chief enclin:
¹³⁹_{vb a} 'Seigniurs, ore m'escutez ici,
 640 'Pur amur Deu merci vus cri,
 'Pensez de mei conseil doner
 'En mund ne voudrai plus ester;
 'Ne mes suffir le grant ennui
 644 'En cel habit u ore sui;
 'Jeo voil ke le veil me donez,
 'Pur nule rien me ne targez;
 'Jeo l'ay tut prest ici ou mei,
 648 'Prendre le voil en bone fei.'
 Cil responset: 'Dame merci

'Nus ne l'osum pas fere issi.
 'Kar vus estes joint a seignur
 652 'Coment k'entre nus seit l'amur,
 'Par nostre asenz [nus] n'osum pas
 'Muer a vus l'abit des dras;
 'Mes si vus plect dame suffrez
 656 'A ceo purrez venir assez;
 'N'osum tel(e) chose uncore en-
 prendre
 'Deske en avant bien est d'atendre.'
 E seinte Osith requert assez
 660 Pur Deu amur les ordenez;
 K'il facent ceo ke lur ad dist
 Mes il li unt tut escundist;
 E quant la dame bien entent
 664 Ke ne volent faire nient;
 'Seigniurs,' ceo dit, 'quant est issi
 'Deu penst de mei par sa merci.
 Plus en apres leva sa main,
 668 E treit le veil hors de son sein,
 E sur l'auter offrir le vait,
 Puis de sa main vers li le trait,
 E sur son chief le veil ad mis,
¹³⁹_{vb} E ataché e bien asis;
 E dit: 'Dampnedeu tut puissant,
 'Cors e alme ci vus comant,
 'Si me gardez pur vostre nun,
 676 'Car ne ay d'autre guarisun.'
 Seinte Osith ad cest oure en pris
 Ke sur son chief le veil ad mis.
 Le rei revient ja de chascor
 680 U gueres ne put espleiter,
 Corus e plein de maltalent;
 A l'us de la sale descent,
 Car custume est, bien le savez,
 684 Ke riche home coruce asez,
 Kant sa beste aver a failli,
 E il refist tut autresi.
 En la chambre est droit alé,
 688 La reine a tost demandé,
 E ele vient en son neir veil,
 Al rei en fremist chacun peil.
 L'alme del cors pur poi s'en ist,
 692 Tant s'esmai[e], tant enpouerist,

623 Omit *tut or* cf. § 65.

633 MS. *pus se prenge*; *pust for peust* cf. § 5 II.

vv. 626-78 Quod cernens beatissima virgo ac divina dispensacione hoc actum intelligens, statim velut ovis erepta de ore leonis, sanctissimos pastores et pontifices Eccam [MS. Neccam] et Bedewinum accersivit, propositum eis sue mentis humiliter indicavit, deprecans ut eam sacro velamine cooperirent, si forte virginitatem suam sic protegere posset. Qui votis ejus humiliter et ipsi faventes eam sicut rogaver[at] Christo mox consecraverunt ac sacro velamine cooperiverunt.

665 Cf. § 59.

687 Cf. Hiatus.

vv. 678-718 Quod cum rex de venacione rediens comperisset, ex intimo cordis affectu dans suspiria graviter doluit, (quia eam sicut proprium corpus dilexit).

691 Corr. n'en ist. Cf. § 53 IV.

692 *empaorir* seems to be rare in verse; Godefroy has no quotations except in prose passages. Cf. § 31 f.

- E quant regard la cou(e)le bise,
 A poy d'effrai le quer n'i brise.
 Del cerf li membre k'il tant suivi,
 696 Quide ke deable l'en a trai;
 (Mes) quant se parceit de la reine
 De rampuner la ne fet traine
 Mut la comence a laidenger
 700 Des paroles e a tencer,
 Coruce e deve a desmesure
 Asez li dist, asez li jure,
 Dist par serment e manascer,
 704 Tut son engin n'avera mester;
 140^a Ne purra pas si enginner.

 Mes ele li dist pur nient le fet,
 708 Pur nul homme n'ert [ja] defet,
 Dekes a Deu s'est si rendue,
 Mes ne put li estre tolue;
 Ainz voudra meuz la mort souffrir
 712 Ke cest abit james guerpir.
 A desmesure grant dolur
 En fet li rei e nuit e jur;
 Lesse son beivre e son manger,
 716 Cum fu jadis acustumer,
 Ne put nuls hom a ly parler,
 N'en la chambre gueres entrer.
 Kant sa dolur a fet asez
 720 Ke tut put estre alessez,
 Purpense sey a chef de tur
 Ke rien ne vaut sa dolur,
 Kant veit ne puet estre muée,
 724 A seinte Osith a gr[aj]antée,
 Ke remaine tut autresi
 En cel abit k'ele ad choisi;
 S'il veit ke el estre [ne] peust
 728 Ja le congé pur lui n'eüst;
 'Dame (ceo),' dist il, 'quant issi est
 'Ke (jeo) ne puis vus tollir icest
 'Ceo peise mei estre mun gré,
 732 'Or seit a vostre volunté
 'Mes quant l'avez issi empris
 'Des or n'i ad en, ceo m'est (a)vis;
 'Mes a ceste religion
 736 'Covent ke jeo meste mun don
 'La vile Chich vus doins issi,
 'Kenclovedene tut autresi,
 140^b 'Tut ensemment Hodefeld averez,
 740 'De ceo faites vos volentez,
 'Kar jeo vus bien frai estorer;
 'E estre ceo vus voil doner
 'De chescun conte e de baron
 744 'La secunde fille par non
 'De tant cum ad en mun regné;
 'E puis a vostre volunté
 'Ensemble ou vus serrunt veléez,
 748 'E en religiun donéez.'
 Si cum il dist issi l'ad fet,
 E seinte Osith mut tost s'en vet
 Pur sa meisun faire aturner
 752 U deit, pur Deu servir, rester.
 Aprester fait delivrement
 Des offices ceo ke apent;
 Les dameiseles sunt mandéez
 756 E de par Deu mut tost veléez;
 Ou seinte Osith remises sunt
 E tut guerpi l'onur del mund,
 A Deu servunt devotement,
 760 E mut i vivent seintement.
 Apres lung tens avint issi,
 Cum vus avez asez oï,
 Des ces paens Deu enemis,
 764 Ke ja vindrent en cest pais,
 De Danemarche lur dreit curs,
 Gent haye de pute murs,
 Ki sunt venu par dreit fuire,
 768 Pur crestiens par tut destruire,
 Li deuz tyranz ki unt mené,
 Ynguar e Ubba sunt nomé;
 Les crestiens vunt destruant,
 140^a Chasteus e viles asegant,
 Ne en pernent autre rancun
 De crestien for le chef nun.
 Cil deuz tyranz pur verité,
 776 Seint Eadmund unt decolé,

694 i cf. § 48.

696 Cf. § 53 i.

698 Omit *la* and cf. § 48.721 Corr. *purpensa*.722 Corr. *valut*.

vv. 719-60 Nec tamen illam a proposito suo revocare ausus fuit immo concessit ei ut ipse optaverat castam permanere. Acta sunt igitur hec apud orientales Saxones juxta mare in villa que Chic ab incolis regionis illius nuncupata est, anno dominice incarnationis sescentesimo quinquagesimo tercio. Quam villam rex in possessionem eidem virgini tradens abiit in qua et ipsa usque ad finem vite sue caste perseverando remansit (ubi edificia lapide et latere pulcre constructa habuisse dinoscitur). [Bodley, *ibid.*]

733 MS. *avet*.

738-9 I have not been able to identify these names, the former is perhaps a mutilated form of Camulodunum (Colchester).

vv. 761-806 Qua Deo in eodem loco jugiter fideliterque serviente quidam pirate paganis adhuc irretiti erroribus (cum jam per diversas Anglie partes cedes quasi plures debacchando crudeliter exercuissent), forte illuc applicuerunt, virginemque compertam atque corruptam idola blandiciis suadendo minisque terrendo adorare coegerunt. Sed virgo beatissima et blandicias respuit et tormenta derisit. Unde princeps (ilius nefandi exercitus) in iram versus capite plecti virginem jussit.

E puis comencent a errer
 Par la costere de la mer,
 E en viles entrent partut
 780 E ocient la gent a but,
 Ardent les eglises a plein,
 Tuent les prestres de lur mein,
 Robent la gent, funt envayes,
 784 Par tut la u trovent abeies
 Le feu i mettent de lur meins,
 Moines ocient e noneins,
 U k'il viengent, ceo saciez bien,
 788 A destruire ne lessent rien,
 E en lur nef entrent apres,
 Par icele mer vunt ades,
 Tant unt nagé, tant unt siglé,
 792 Ke pres de Chich sunt arivé,
 E puis saillirent sur cel gravier,
 Le pais vunt tut enchercher,
 Pur quere cristiene gent,
 796 K'a quer heent trop cruelment.
 Sainte Osith fu le jur alée
 Si cum esteit acustumée,
 A une secrée fontaine
 800 Quatre meschines ou soi meinc,
 Pur sei laver i sunt alées
 E li paen les unt trovées;
 N'entendirent pas lungement
 804 Ainz decolent comunablement
 140b Seint Osith ke unt trové ci
 E les autres ensemble ou li.
 Mes seinte Osith tut erramment
 808 Son chef entre ses mains prent,
 Si cum n'eit anguisse eüe,
 Tant veit k'al muster est venue;

La fontaine dont (ele) est alée
 812 A deuz quarenteines de veie
 E plus est loinz de cel muster
 A dreite veie u a sentier,
 U seinte Osith son chef porta.
 816 L'us del muster puis en entra
 De ses mains l'ad ensenglanté
 Dunt ele aveit son chef porté.
 L'enseigne fu apert e grant,
 820 E lung tens puis aparissant,
 E si raveit tut ensement
 En nostre tens asez [de] gent
 Ke l'us virent ensenglanté
 824 Par ki savum la verité.
 Seinte Osith n'est unk arestue,
 Deke al auter est dreit venue,
 E de son chef i fet present
 828 A Dampnedeu omnipotent,
 A ly del tut s'est comandée
 Pur ki amur fu decolée,
 E puis repeire belement
 832 E entre pilers se estent,
 En presbiterie del muster,
 E ses meins comence a drescer
 Vers Dampnedeu son creatur
 836 Pur ki suffri mort e dolor,
 [E] torne dreit vers l'orient
 141a A Dampnedeu l'esperit rent.
 Seignurs ore avez bien oï
 840 De la vie seinte Osith ci,
 Coment pur Deu guerpi le mund
 E les richescs k'ici sunt
 Pur trover joie pardurable
 844 Ke a tut dis ert estable,

784 Cf. § 5 B ii (a).

vv. 807-24 Que decollata se ilico erexit et caput (a corpore longius [121 v° b] rotatum) ambabus manibus accipiens angelico juvamine firmis gressibus illud in ecclesiam que in honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli antiquitus fuerat constructa detulit. (Distat autem locus sue decollationis ab illa ecclesia quasi stadiis tribus. Cumque caput deportans ecclesiam ingrederetur, ostium cruenta manu forte tegerit. Cujus rei signum nostris contemporaneis manifeste apparuit.) [Bodley, *ibid.*]

vv. 825-56 Hujus igitur venerabile corpus ante introitam chori ecclesie prefate a fidelibus honeste sepultum diu jacuit ubi ejus meritis multa miracula Deus ostendit. (Nam postquam pro fide Christi mortem suscipiendo occubuit atque in ecclesia illa ut dictum est sepulta fuit, sanitates diversarum infirmitatum ibi usque in presentem diem celebrari non desinunt.) Que cernentes pii populi virique sapientissimi cum ymnis et laudibus corpus ejus de eodem loco transtulerunt et in medio choro cum sarcophago honestius posuerunt. (His temporibus contigit mirabilem virum nomine Mauricium Lunduniensem fieri episcopum. Qui cum de virtutibus et miraculis sancte virginis audisset atque eam in sua parochia esse cognovisset, locum humiliter frequentavit, virginemque dictis et factis decenter honorificavit. Cui quoque inter alia placuit ut corpus illius de loco in quo jacuit levaret et in loco eminenciori scilicet post majus altare honestissime poneret. Quod cum devotissime fieret atque tandem venerabili corpore ad votum episcopi positum esset, balsamum quantum habuit sibi jussit afferri atque allatum supra sacrum corpus gaudenter effudit et effundendo ampullam vitream in qua fuit coram omni multitudo que advenerat guttatim excussit. Sed hanc ampullam coram omnibus ut dictum est evacuatam [122 r° a] alio rursus tempore satis meliori balsamo usque ad summam Dei munere repletam episcopus recipere promeruit. Nam non multo post contigit quendam ministrum ejusdem episcopi adeo infirmari ut nec loqui nec aliquid movere se posset sed quasi animam statim redditurus extensus jaceret. Quod cum episcopo nuntiatum fuisset ampullam predictam sibi afferri jussit ut saltem

Trovée l'ad finalement
 Sachez ke nen dotum nient,
 Kar Deu le rey de majesté
 848 Apertement l'ad ci mustré
 Par miracles gentils e granz
 Ke pur ly fet aparissanz,
 Fort serreit tut a acunter
 852 Mes partie volum mustrer,
 U vus porrez tres bien oïr
 K'a Dainpnedeu fet a servir,
 Ky leaument le servira
 856 Sanz gueredon ne s'en irra.

Cum nus avum pur veir oy,
 Acune feiz avint issy
 Ke grant tempeste out en la mer,
 860 Horriblement la fist emfler,
 Jeter guages e verser undes,
 Leides, horribles e parfundes;
 Ki dunc i furent, bien vus jur,
 864 N'esteient pas del tut seur.
 En grant heure de la tempeste
 K'en mer feseit si grant molceste,
 Par la tormente sunt chaciez
 868 Nefs estranges e travailliez;
 Une hore aval, un autre amunt,

Tant cum tut dreit venues sunt
 841 En cel havene puis al d[e]rein
 872 A seinte Osith le plus prochein.
 Les mariners i unt ancré(e),
 Sigle abatu e bien teoldé(e),
 876 Ilokes vunt cum est custume
 De tens attendent suautume,
 En havene sunt bien lungement
 Pur atendre le prospere vent,
 E vunt tel hore est a la terre
 880 Pur vitaille e garison quere;
 A seinte Osith revunt suvent
 A oreisuns ou autre gent.
 Un jur i vunt les mariners,
 884 Ly envoiez les juvencels,
 Si cum esteient custumer
 E pur orer vunt al muster.
 A ceo k'aukes i unt esté
 888 E sus e jus par tut alé,
 Li uns d'eus cum esteit alant,
 Trove un marbre gisant;
 Pres deuz espaumes de lungur,
 892 E pleine paume out de laur.
 E cil la prist delivrement,
 Si l'enporta tut belement,
 E si comence a purpenser
 896 K'en son pais la vout porter,

ejus ablucionem super linguam infirmi distillaret si forte gustu illius liquoris aliquid verbum confessionis peccatorum edere posset. Mira res. Nam eadem ampulla episcopo allata optimo balsamo Deo munere plena inventa est. De quo cum infirmus parum gustasset, mox sanitate recepta surrexit et letus quo voluit deambulavit, episcopo et omnibus qui aderant valde admirantibus et Deum in sancta virgine Osgitha laudantibus. Translatio autem hujus gloriose virginis tercio nonas octobris sub Mauricio venerabili episcopo ut prefati sumus facta est et altare ad caput ejus eodem die dedicatum.) [Instead of the passage in brackets, MS. Lansdown has only: Deinde Mauricius Londoniensis episcopus corpus ipsius levavit et post majus altare posuit.] Cujus festum nonas Octobris manifestamus esse colendum quia eodem die pro Christo agonizans mortem temporalem subiit et in gaudium sempiternum cum corona martirii gaudenter intravit. Translatio vero ejus jubente domino Ricardo successore Mauricii, in crastino id est octavo idus Octobris celebratur quia ut isdem venerabilis episcopus dicebat inconveniens erat tamprope ante illius martirii festum translationem ejus celebrare. (O quot et quantis miraculorum signis hec beatissima virgo quanti sit meriti non solum suis compatriotis verum extraneis manifestata est. Sed multis propter fastidium legendum omissis unum ad memoriam referre delectat.)

851 Cf. § 59.

vv. 857-86 Tempore enim prefati pontificis Ricardi quidam [122 r° b] theutonici cum quadraginta navibus alleciis oneratis sicut per singulos solent annos de Gernemutha redierunt et ad portum sancte Osgithe qui lingua incolarum Westmutha vocatur omnes tandem convenerunt. Qui ex singulis navibus elemosinam collectam more solito ad ecclesias miserunt ut virgine pro eis intercedente ventum prosperum quo repatriarent recipere meruissent.

874 This refers to a Scandinavian custom of erecting an awning over the deck when in port called *tialz*; in St Gilles we find *Funt un tialz deus le tref, E puis s'en issent el graver*... 930-1; the word is Old Norse *tjald* (Germ. *Zelt*; Eng. *tilt*). Cf. § 5 B (x), § 59.

883 Cf. § 3. The rime words were doubtless in the original, *marinel*; *juvencel*.

890 Corr. *a terre gisant*. Cf. Latin text, or l. 990.

vv. 887-904 Cumque oblatione facta quidam illorum qui eam attulerunt in portici australi consediscent et ad invicem de amenitate et situ loci loquerentur, contigit forte quoddam frustum marmoris ibi velut neglectum aut projectum in pulvere jacere. Quod cum quidam ex illis latenter rapuisset, secum sociis ignorantibus illud ad navem portavit.

- E pense bien k'en son muster
Al pais doner avera mester.
Le marbre porte si s'en vait
900 [De]vers la marine tut dreit,
Entre sa nef de maintenant,
E del marbre ne fet semblant,
A compaignon mot ne sona,
141
900^a Kar plai n'en tint, bien le mustra.
A tant es vus si unt [bon] vent,
Dreit e portant a [lur] talent,
Dreçant lur mast e cordes tendent,
908 E le vydas par tut amendent,
E puis unt trait lur sigle amunt,
Ancre sament e si s'en vunt.
De cele nef oir porrez
912 U li marbre fu enz portez,
Kant li autre vunt herneschant,
E lur aferes adrescant,
E s'aturnent e la e ci,
916 E cil refunt tut autresi;
Mes kant unt le mast bien fermé,
Ancre saké et veil levé,
E les autres par tut s'en vunt,
920 Cum cil ki vent a talent unt,
Unk cele nef ne fist semblant,
K'en ewe fust ne tant ne quant,
Ne pur force, ne pur saver,
924 Ne la porrunt del liu mover.
Les mariners levent lur main
Chescun d'eus se seignie a plein,
Dient entre eus: 'avez veu
928 'Itel merveillie ne unkes fu;
'Dunc n'avum nus le vent portant
'Cum cil autre ki vunt devant
'Le governail bien ataché
932 'De gurderis ancre saké
'E drecié mast, sigle amunt trait
'Ke deit ke nostre nef ne vait?'
Puis comandent les compaignons
936 K'il augent tut a avirons,
- 141^b De totes parz pur asaer
Si rien ne vausist lur nager,
Enteims pur mut estre grevé
940 Ke del havene seient geté,
Les juvenceus pruz e legier(s)
Se peinent mut del efforcer(s),
E chescun d'euz i met sa main,
944 Des avirons ferent a plein.
Mes plus semblant ne fist la nef
Ke maison fet le cuchetref;
Bien la porunt conduire ariere
948 Mes avant en nule manere;
Costeant veit e en belif
Dreit cum cheval ke est restif.
Kant cil veient ke n'ad mester
952 Ne lur sigler ne lur nager,
Parolent en estreitement
Cume cil ki sunt mut dolent.
'Seignurs,' fet l'un, 'ça entendez,
956 'Nus sumes mal bailli assez
'E cel veum tut a estrus
'Ke le ire Deu vient sur nus,
'Pur nos pechez bien le savum;
960 'Cest encumbrer en mer avum;
'Criums merci cher compaignons,
'Pur Deu le veir e pur ses nons
'Ke cil ke se savera copable,
964 'Encumbré de peché del deable,
'Ke il put sei fere confes
'De penitance prendre apres
'Ke Dampnedeu merci en ait
968 'De ceo dunt il ad mesfait;
'Pur Deu seigniurs ki ke ceo seit,
142
968^a 'Ke conisant seit ore endreit,
'Ke pur un sul e sun peché
972 'Ne seum tut ci perilié;
'Kar s'il n'i ad amendement
'Ci demorum finablement.'
A ceo (ki l')unt longement parlé,
976 E entre sei chescun pensé,

906 Cf. St Gilles: *Kar ore vente a lur talent* 1032.

vv. 905-24 Quo facto vento surgente prospero anchoras subtra[h]unt vela suspendunt et versus patriam omnes cum gaudio volucris cursu tendunt, preter unam navem que velut in terra sic in aqua juxta litus fixa remansit.

vv. 925-50 Nec tamen naute navis ejusdem tardius aut pigrius aliis anchoras subtraxerant, immo velum usque ad mali sumitatem trahere studuerant. Sed nec aliqua instrumenta nec velum Deo jubente suum tunc poterant officium habere. Naute itaque dolentes et causam penitus ignorantes per navem discurrunt, funes expediunt, contos exponunt, remos deiciunt, clamando pellunt, trahunt nec quicquam proficiunt.

934 'How comes it about that...' cf. §§ 53 i, iv, 59.

945-6 The sense of these two lines is obscure and *cuchetref* < **colloca trabem*: is apparently not known elsewhere. I am inclined to think it is the awning referred to in line 874 footnote. The meaning would appear to be that the ship was no more like a ship than a 'cuchetref' is like a house. Cf. § 59.

vv. 951-98. Fessi ergo considunt, peccata plangunt, vota vovent, emendationem vite Deo et sancte Osgithe omnes flebili voce promittunt. Interea isdem homo de quo superius mentionem fecimus in medium prostitit, se graviter peccasse dixit et marmor quod abstulit omnibus ostendit.

961 Corr. *compaignon*.

962 Corr. *son non*, cf. § 43 iii.

- De ses mesfez de ces pechez.
 A tant s'est drescé sur [ses] piez
 Ky enporta le marbre issi.
 980 'Seignurs,' ceo dist, 'pur Deu merci
 'Endreit mei voil primes parler
 'Le men mesfet ne voil celer,
 'Si mesfet deit estre nomé.
 984 'Ceo k'en mon quer ay recordé
 'Poy de chose est, me[s] nekedent
 'Dirray le vus tut erranment.
 'A seinte Osith estoie aléz
 988 'Ou autre compaignons asez,
 'En son muster u jeo entray,
 'Un marbre petit i trovay,
 'Si l'enportay par aventure
 992 'Par geu le fis e enveisure,
 'Ci l'ay porté, ici l'ay mys
 'N'enquer celer ceo ke en fis,
 'Or vus en ay le veir gey
 996 'Beaus compaignuns pur veir vus di,
 'Si de ceo ay vers vus mespris,
 'Faire en voudray tut vostre avis.'
 Quant l'unt oï funt [mut] grant
 bruit
 1000 A une voz s'escrient tuit:
 'A Dampnedeu graces rendum,
 'Kant tant enquis suvaus avum
 1004^{142b} 'Or n'i ad en for retorner
 'Le marbre ou nus volum porter,
 'A seinte Osith tut dreit alum,
 'E Deu e ly merci crium,
 'Rendum le marbre a son muster,
 1008 'Mut covient iluc Deu prier
 'K'il nus pardoint icel peché
 'Ke mes ne seum travaillié,
 'Cum nus avum esté devant,
 1012 'Kar ci sumes trop sujurnant.'
 Sicum unt dit issi le funt,
 Issent de nef e si s'en vunt;
 A seinte Osith sunt dreit alé;
- 1016 Kant en muster furent entré,
 Sachez ne sunt unkes restu,
 Dekes al auter sunt dreit venu,
 A genouilliuns iluec cuché,
 1020 Crient merci de lur peché,
 Le marbre i unt offert e mis
 E Dampnedeu sovent requis
 E seinte Osith sa chere amie
 1024 Mes ne seient en tel baillie,
 Ne travaillié ne malmené
 En havene u tant unt demoré;
 E communaument voé unt
 1028 Ke checun, tant cum viverunt,
 Lour offende ferunt porter
 A seinte Osith e presenter,
 Ke Dampnedeu omnipotent
 1032 A aler lur doint sauvement.
 Al pople k'il unt iluec trové
 Cum lur avint unt cunté,
 Pernunt congé e si s'en vunt,
 1032^{142a} E en lur nef puis entré sunt,
 Levent sigle hastivement;
 Si tost cum i feri le vent,
 La nef se torne a tel randon,
 1040 Come colum devant faucon,
 Deu fist iluec [tres] grant vertu
 E miracle tres bien seu,
 Kar cil s'en vunt par cele mer,
 1044 E poesté unt de sigler
 Les nefes ke peca sunt aléez
 E loin en mer avant passées,
 Cil ki tant esteient ariere,
 1048 Ne sai coment n'en quel manere
 Fors cum Deu le vout en maesté,
 Lour compaignons unt ja passé;
 Errent e vunt siglant afort,
 1052 A tant vient plus tost a port;
 E les autres passent de tant
 Cum ariere esteient devant.
 N'at cil saciez k'il n'eit oy,

986 The scribe writes now *erraument* and now *erraument*. I have chosen the former orthography in each case.

vv. 999-1032 Quod etiam omnium hortatum ad ecclesiam referre festinavit. Navis vero interim quasi hominem [122 v^o a] expectans Dei jussu ibidem donec ille rediit immobilis permansit.

1033 Cf. § 66.

1034 Cf. § 64.

vv. 1033-54 Que[m] redeuntem recipiens velut a vinculis soluta prosilivit et post precedentes ocior volucre advolat. Et licet a conspectu illius alie jam longe abierint, hec tamen citius omnibus portum desideratum ingressa est. Ex quibus postmodum quidam in Anglia reversi coram altari sancte Osgithe omnibus qui aderant ista subtiliter sicut gesta fuerant narraverunt et quod ille vir per quem hec acciderant Antwerpensis [gloss in a beautiful xiii century hand: *Andverpia villa est in Brabantia et portus maris*] natione et Theobaldus nominatus sit fideliter intimaverunt. Pro quibus omnibus Deum laudamus ipsamque virginem humili prece deposcamus ut nobis peccatoribus apud Deum nostrum Jhesum Christum subvenire dignetur qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia seculorum secula, Amen. Explicit vita vel passio beate Osgithe virginis.

1049 Cf. § 53 x.

1051 This should perhaps be written *au fort*, common in the meaning *enfin*.

- 1056 Coment la nef siglat issy,
Ke mut ne seit esmervellié,
Kant enquis unt e cerché
E entendunt la verur,
1060 Mercient Deu le creatur,
E seinte Osith la gloriuse,
Martir e virgine precieuse,
Pur ki Deu fist si grant vertu
1064 Ke apertement le unt veu.

- Autre miracle apres orrez
De seinte Osith si l'entendez.
Une femme contrainte esteit
1068 Vers Hereford de Wales dreit,
¹⁴²_b Ke ne poeit en nule baillie
De li mover sanz aïe,
Des membres ne se poeit ayder,
1072 Ne al lever ne al cucher,
De ses membres tut dis estoit
En grant anguisse e grant desdroit,
Asez ala par Engleterre,
1076 A oreisuns les seinz requere,
Par tut u ele oï aveit
Ke Dampnedeu vertu feseit,
Ne puet uncore estre oïe
1080 Kar Dampnedeu ne voleit mie.
Kant alé tant aveit pur tut
Ke ses amis esteient mut
De li partir ja travaillié,
1084 E au derein mut ennuïé.
Ne saveit mes a requere,
Seint ne seinte en Engleterre,
U ne aient ja fet venir
1088 Fors seint Edmund le bon martir.
La chaitive fu (mut) angissuse,
E de garrir mut desiruse,
Tant ad prié, tant ad requis,
1092 E ses parenz e ses amis;
A grant peine granté li unt
De li porter a seint Edmund.
Sa suer par non ke mut l'ama
1096 E par terre tant la mena,
Ore a derein tut ensement
Icest labur pur li enprent.
Si l'aturnast a meuz ke poeit
1100 Vers seint Edmund s'en vunt tut
dreit.

- Tant errunt petites jurnées,
¹⁴³_a Cum furent bien acustumées,
Ke nequedunt a chief de tur,
1104 Le seurveillie devant le jur
Seint Michel venues i sunt
E la contrainte porté unt
A grant travail dekes al muster
1108 Pur faire la iluec veillier.
Mes kant vint tut dreit al vesper
Li secrestains la fait oster,
E estrussé li ad mut bien,
1112 Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien
K'ele la nuit seit al muster,
Ne pur orer ne pur veillier,
Oster la fist demaintenant
1116 E cele en fet doil mut grant.
Quant de l'eglise esteit ostée
A ceus a dit ki l'unt portée:
'Pur Deu amur merci vus cri,
1120 'Ne me portez [tres] loinz de ci,
'Metrez mei ci dehors cest us
'Lessez mei iluec, ne vus quer us
E cil refunt tut autre tel
1124 E puis se vunt a lur ostel.
Tute la nuit iluec remaint
La contrainte ke mut se plaint,
E crie Dampnedeu merci
1128 E seint Edmund tut autresi,
Ke puisse aver amendement
De mal ke la tient forment.
A meuz ke sout vers Deu orat,
1132 Tute la nuit iluec veilliat,
E pres del us s'est ajustée,
Tut dreit cum vint en l'ajurnée
¹⁴³_b La cheitive ke tant i crie
1136 Un petitet s'est endormie.
De hors cel us u ele jut
Un hom en blanc li aparut:
'Diva,' ceo dit, 'ki es tu ci
1140 'Ke tute nuit me cries si
'Ke demandez, ke vus avoir?'
Cele li dist: 'sire pur veir,
'A Dampnedeu jeo vinc ici
1144 'A seint Edmund tut autresi,
'Ke jeo requer pur son [seint] non,
'Ke il m'envoie guarison.
'Mut ay par Engleterre erré
1148 'E[n] oreisuns pur ma sancté,

1058 Corr. *encherché* as in l. 794.

1059 The tense and form may be original (cf. § 55 i) but it seems a scribe's error for *entendu unt*; cf. l. 1270.

1069 Omit *Ke*.

1070 Both here and at l. 1176 *nule* (*nul*) may have been omitted.

1074 This would appear to be a scribe's error for *destreit*. Cf. Marie de France: *La dame conut bien le pleit*. *Mult est sis quers en grant destreit* [Guigemar, 801-2] but the word may have existed.

1085 *Requere* has no object in the phrase, *qui* may be inserted.

1099 Corr. *si l'aturne*? Cf. l. 1131.

1108 Cf. § 48.

1116 Cf. § on Hiatus.

1130 Corr. *de cel mal*.

1141 *Vus* (<*voles*), Cf. § 25.

- 'Mes ne oi pas dekes a cest jur,
 'Ci sui venue a chief de tur.'
 Il li respunt demeintenant
 1152 'Uncor t'estuet aler avant;
 'Kar Deu n'ad pas purveu issi
 'Ke guarisun eies ici.
 'A seinte Osith t'estuet aler,
 1156 'Iluec veillier, iluec orer,
 'Kar Dampnedeu t'ad destiné
 'En icel liu aver sancté.'
 'Sire merci,' fet la contraite,
 1160 'Icest respons trop mei desheite,
 'Kar chier sire, ceo sachiez bien,
 'De seinte Osith ne say jeo rien,
 'Ne sai u est ne en quel terre,
 1164 '[Ne] seinte Osith ne say u quere,
 'Unk mes de li n'oy parler
 'E si resui lasse d'errer,
 'E cil ke tant porté[e] m'unt
 148 v^o a 'De mei porter ennuie sunt.
 'Avant de ci, bien sai en fin,
 'Voie ne sevent ne chemin'
 Cil li respont: 'si demandez
 1172 'A gent ke ci demain verrez,
 'Aucun troverez en cest entrée
 'Ke vus enseignera la veie;
 'Iluec guarrez cum vus ay dit
 1176 'Puis en alez sanz respit.'
 E cele li dist: 'sire merci
 'Ki estes vus que parlez ci?'
 E il respunt mut humblement:
 1180 'Seint Edmund me nomment la
 gent.'
 La contraite mut en pensa,
 Puis l'endemein quant gent trova
 K'esteient a cel us entrant,
 1184 Si lur demande demeintenant
 Ver seinte Osith la dreite veie,
 Ke pur Deu seit asenseie,
 Tant a enquis e demandé
 1188 Le dreit chemin li unt muistré,
 Tant ad parlé a ses amis
 Ke il ja sunt en chemin mys;
 Vers seinte Osith la funt porter
 1192 Vint jurs i mistrent al aler,
 E travaillent se a merveillie
 Ke venu(e) i sunt droit la veillie
 De seinte Osith kant est la feire
 1196 Funt la contraite al muster trere,
 Dreit a hore porter la funt
 Kant li chanoine a vespres sunt,
 A ceo k'esteient haut chantant
 1200 Cil vierent ci demeintenant,
 149 b Ke la cheitive unt portée
 E einz al muster avalée
 Puis [en] vunt al us del chancel,
 1204 Acenent les seigniurs mut bel,
 K'il unt plus pres del us trové,
 Requis li unt pur l'amur Dé
 Ke la contraite k'unt portée,
 1208 A seinte Osith si longe veie,
 K'a sa fertre l'osent porter,
 Ke tote nuit en puisse orer;
 Ele est a seinte Osith par non
 1212 Venue par avision.
 Tant unt requis, tant unt parlé
 Ke li seignur li unt granté;
 La contraite est remuée
 1216 E a la fertre amunt portée.
 Sa suer ke l'ad portée tant
 En haut se crie maintenant
 'Ma dame seinte Osith merci,
 1220 'De ma suer ke vus porte ci,
 'Pur ki me sui tant travaillie,
 'E sufferte ay mainte haschie;
 'Portée l'ai e sus e jus
 1224 'Tant sui lasse ke ne puis plus
 'Or la vus ay ci fet porter,
 'Avant de ci ne say aler,
 'S'ici ne puet estre amendée
 1228 'Ja n'iert pur mei avant portée.'
 E sa suer l'ad iluec lessée
 Devant la fiertre dreit couchée,
 E cele remaint la nuit issi,
 1232 E Dampnedeu crie merci,
 E seinte Osith [alsi] par non
 144 a Ke li trameste garison.
 Puis unt a matines soné,
 1236 Li chanoine sunt assemblé
 Lur matines vunt comencant
 E mut a tant les vunt chantant
 Cum a tel feste estoit raisun;
 1240 Kant vint a la sime lescun
 La contraite geta un cri,
 E pleint e gient e plure si
 Ke nui[en]t estoit escuter;
 1244 Um la (co)manda assez cesser
 Ke ne desturbast le servise
 Mes ele ne pout en nule guise
 Al comandement garde prendre,
 1248 Kar ailliurs aveit a entendre;
 Ne put son cri amesurer
 Le sime respons vunt chanter
 Regnum mundi li ordiné,

1174 Cf. § 15.

1177 Cf. § 5 B II.

1201, 1215 Cf. § on hiatus.

1231 Cf. § 5 B II.

1243 The usual form is *nient* (cf. § 18 and line 1392), we take *nuient* as an Agn. form for *noiant*, a variant of *nient*.

1176 Cf. l. 1070.

1186 Corr. *K'ele*....1220 Corr. *serur...port.* Cf. §§ 43 iv., 54 i.

1240 Cf. l. 1250.

- 1252 Tut dreit cum sunt en vers entré,
La contreite s'escrie tant,
Les nerfs li vunt tut crus[i]sant,
Deu reclaime omnipotent
- 1256 E seinte Osith tut ensement;
Kant longues estoit travaillie
Sur piez se est a dreit drescie,
E ver le auter veit tut dreit,
- 1260 E loe Deu a grant espleit,
E seinte Osith sa chiere amie,
Par ki sa preiere est oïe.
A chanoines cuntat e dit,
- 1264 La grant vertu ke Deu li fit,
Tut par ordre lur ad cunté,
Coment par terre aveit erré,
Coment aveit ailliurs failli,
- 1268 Com[ent] Deu l'ad [a]dresciée ci.
Kant li chanoine e li seigniur
Entendu unt bien la verrur,
Tut loent Deu omnipotent,
- 1272 E comencent mut hautement
Te Deum laudamus par tut;
Par cel muster demandent mut
Quel noise seit ke la munt funt;
- 1276 Tut a un frus curru i sunt
Deu comencent mut a loer,
E funt les seins par tut soner,
Kant la contreite bien entent
- 1280 Ke guarie est finement,
E mes ne sent de ses dolurs,
Venue est devant les seigniurs,
E si lur dit; 'seigniurs merci,
- 1284 'Dampnedeu m'ad guarrie ci
'E seinte Osith (la) vostre avoée,
'L'amie Deu verrière esproyée,
'Mut aim cest liu e mut l'ai cher
- 1288 'U Deu m'ad si fet adreçer,
'Si pur Deu me voilliez tenir,
'Ja nul jur ne voudrai partir,
'En icest liu finablement,
- 1292 'A Deu e seinte Osith me rent.'
E li seigniur pur l'amur Dé
Ke ele remaine unt gr[a]lanté.
Cele est remise e mut se peine
- 1296 Trestuz les jurs de la semeine,
A plus k'ele puet travailler
Entur l'uveraine del muster;
Penible est en mu[t] de manere,
- 1298 Nomeement de trere pierre,
- E el k'ele puet a cele eglise,
Longes remaint en cel servise.
Mes deables est mut enginuis,
- 1304 E de tut biens trop envius,
Kant Deu a fet ses granz vertuz,
E ses miracles bien veuz,
Pur seinte eglise enluminer
- 1308 E ses amis reconforter;
Peise deable estrangement
E se efforce peniblement
D'esteindre ceo pur verité
- 1312 Ke Deu ad si enluminé.
Dieble n'ad unkes envie,
Ne de peché ne de folie,
De mesfet ne de traisun,
- 1316 N'ad envie si de bien nun.
La vertu k'est par Deu venue
Mut vot turner en fanfelue,
Pur fere mescrere la gent
- 1320 E ci si fist tut ensement.
Un lur vassal de la maisun,
Godwine l'esquieler par nun,
Tant ad forment dieble enticé
- 1324 Empeint a fere malvesté,
Ke a la femme s'est ajusté
Tant a requis, tant a parlé
Ke il sunt tut a un voleir
- 1328 De fere la folur pur veir;
Kar nature est bien le savez
Ke femme est frele chose assez
Tost ad le quer asis en glu,
- 1332 Tost ad un mal conseil creu,
Tost ad lessié [la] dreite veie,
Tost est en la folur entrée,
Tost ad lessé bien e honur,
- 1336 Tost se prent a la folur.
Ceste tut ensement le fist,
Lessa le bien e le mal prist,
A lur folie unt liu trové,
- 1340 La nuit kant furent assemblé
En lit trestut primerement
E li fous out fet sun talent,
Seinte Osith pas ne vot suffrir
- 1344 Cest overaine endormir
Ne voleit pas pur verite,
Icoo mesfet estre celé;
L'un pié de la cheitive prent
- 1348 Sur l'autre dreit en croiz l'estent,
Si forment l'ad iloukes mis,

1254 Since *s* = *ss*, cf. § 33, an *i* could easily be omitted, cf. § 59.

1255 Cf. § on hiatus.

1275 The woman had been carried up to the shrine, l. 1216.

1278 *Seins* (< *sanctus*) is frequent in Ofr. in the sense of *bell*, especially to call people together; cf. s.v. *sein* 2: Godefroy, vii, 365 c.

1280 Corr. *finablement* as in ll. 974, 1291.

1318 Cf. § 59.

1322 This form is quoted by Godefroy under *escueillier* the scullery, and also as here a sculleryman. Cf. § 59.

1324 *Empeint* = *urges*.

1336 The sense demands *E tost*.

- Cuché e joint e ferme asis,
 Ne puet de luec pluse estre ostez
 1352 Ke s'il de clous i fust fermez.
 Kant la cheitive iceo entent,
 Plure des oilz e gient forment,
 E grant dolur comence a faire,
 1356 Ne puet l'un pié de l'autre trere.
 Li pautener quant l'entendi,
 Mut s'esmaie tut autresi,
 E par matin est tost levé
 1360 E as seigniurs tut dreit alé
 As piez lur chiet si lur ad dit:
 'Seigniurs entendez un petit,
 'Pur nient le vus irrai celant,
 1364 'Assez le saverez en avant,
 'Meuz le vus voil dire en secrei
 145^a 'K'autre le vus die de mei;
 'Tut ay en tel manere overé,
 1368 'Contre raisun e contre Dé,
 'E avenu est tut issi
 'Pur Deu amur seigniurs merci;
 'Trestut issi sui contenu
 1372 'Vers Dampnedeu e encorru.'
 E li seigniurs demaintenant
 La verité vunt enquerant,
 L'aventure k'est avenue
 1376 Trestut issi est reconue.
 A rien ne muntast le celer
 Semblant n'i veient demander.
 La cheitive ne puet pur veir
 1380 Del lit pur nule rien moveir,
 Les piez li sunt si traversé
 Cum s'il fuissent des clous fermé,
 Les seigniurs en sunt anguissus,
 1384 Sur tute rien e dolerus,
 Al muster vunt [tut] erramment
 Requerent Deu communament,
 E seinte Osith lur dame chiere,
 1388 K'ele ne souffre en nule manere,
 Ke sa ancele seit si baillie,
 Ne al siecle si forment hunie.
 Requis unt ententivement
 1392 Mes tut iceo ne lur est nient.
 Kar n'amende en nule manere,
 Pur oreison ne pur priere;
 Contreite i vint premerement
 1396 E contreite rest ensement.
 Mut longement remaint issi,
 Tote contreite cum vus di,
 145^b Dekes li pauteners morut
 1400 K'en tel manere la decut;
 Deu fist iluec mut grant vertu
 Miracle apert e bien veu,
 Le jur ke il fu deviez
 1404 E par la mort del siecle alez,
 La nuit apres [tut] erramment
 Vint seinte Osith verrayment
 E la chaitive deliat,
 1408 De tut en tut la deliverat,
 Les piez li ad desseelez,
 E quitement desencumbrez;
 E cele est par matin levée
 1412 E al muster tut dreit alée,
 E loe Deu omnipotent,
 E seinte Osith tut ensement.
 Tut dis remaint en la maisun
 1416 E sert ou grant devotiun.
- A
 assez avum oy sovent
 Par reprover dire la gent
 Ke d'estriver contre aguillon
 1420 N'avient a nuli si mal non.
 Prendre en poum exemple assez
 D'un miracle ke ici orrez
 Ke Deu pur seinte Osith mustra
 1424 Ki garde en prent, bor le verra.
 Kar bel se repent de sa folie
 Ke par autre se chastie,
 E cil d'assez trop tart se repent
 1428 Sur ky le flael Deu decent;
 Kar Dampnedeus est mut suffrant,
 E lungement vait deportant,
 Mes puis quant il fert au derein
 145^a Sachez k'il ad mut dure mein;
 E il refist tut autresi,
 Seigniurs cum vus orrez ici;
 De le eveske Ricard (essample)
 dirum
 1436 De ce dunt vus tuché avum,
 Le tiers a Londres se aveit,
 Puis cil ke l'abbie de Chich
 fundeit,
 E a seinte Osith chanoines mist,
 1440 Teres e rentes aset i conquist,
 A cist Ricard le ben ne plout
 Ke son ancestre a liu fet out.
 Un jur avint ke fist mander
 1444 Ses menestaus e assembler
 Ke soleient ses plais tenir,
 E danz Williame avant venir
 Son seneschal i fist par non,
 1448 De Wokindone aveit surnon,
 E en ki se feist mut enfín
 Ou un Nichole e Rad'patin;
 A Dakintone (co)manda aler

1385 Here and at l. 1405 corr. [tut] as in l. 1610.

1403 Cf. § 17.

1405 Cf. footnote to l. 1385.

1425, 1427 Omit *se*, § 48 A.1438 For *fundeit* cf. § 55 iv, for a comment on this line cf. § 71.

1450 The apostrophe is in the MS.

1451 The sense seems to be: to forbid the ecclesiastics (cf. ll. 1439-40) to have possessions at Chich and to take all the profits for his own use.

- 1452 De luec oveskaus pur veer
Ke a Chic [ne] deusent poseer ;
E a son eus tut apruer.
E cil s'en vunt a grant espleit,
1456 A Dakintone vienent tut dreit,
Iluec tienent a fort estur
Les plais l'eveske lur seigniur ;
En icel tens ke cil veneient
1460 A Chic chanoines mis esteient,
Ke Deu serveient humblement
E seinte Osith tut ensement ;
De terre aveient environ
1464 Dunt pussent vivre a fuison,
^{145b} Estre l'aport de lur autel
K'il aveient qui d'un qui d'el
Deu serveient en leauté
1468 E furent de grant charité.
Le seneschal a Dakintone vint
Les pleiz l'eveske forment tint,
D'iluec purveit queus enverreit
1472 A Chich kar ces fors mettreit
Ki par les chanoines mis est[e]ient ;
Oveskeus mestreit ke dureient
A li acuntes ; l'eveske out voil
1476 Kanoines oster de cel soil ;
Ne voleient en nule manere
Oir requeste ne preiere,
N'entains souffrir hum[e] parler
1480 Ne terme ne respit doner ;
Mes si cum lur est comandé
Issi en ad del tut overé.
Quant les chanoines l'unt entendu,
1484 Mut sunt dolent e irascu,
A Deu s'en vunt pleindre erran-
ment,
E a lur dame tut ensement
Seinte Osith ke unt servi tant,
1488 Ke del surfet seit eus vengent.
K'ele deust bien a lur avis
Defendre les de lur enemis,
A sa fiertre vienent errant,
1492 L'ymage ostant tres estant,
Hors l'us l'eglise l'unt posé
Cume pur prendre son cungé.
Le fiertre covrent d'une here,
1496 Ceo signe ke de joie volent trere,
Ne volent (seinte) Osith plus loer
- ^{146a} Kar par semblant le liu n'ad
cher,
Ou lermes e ou plaintes funt
1500 Asez saver ke il au quer unt,
[E] seinte Osith vunt chalengiant
K'en cest surfet est si suffrant.
Seinte Osith pas lunges n'endure,
1504 Bien li sovient de (sa) leidengure
Suffrir ne vout pur nule rien,
Ke vengée ne seit mut bien,
E de celui nomeement
1508 K'(a) achesun fu premerement,
Fonteine e surse e chief par non
De faire icele invasion,
Kar ceo fu l'eveske Ricard,
1512 Venu i sunt cil de sa part
Ke lur terres unt envasé
E lur serganz unt hors buté,
Miracle avint ici mut grant
1516 Cum les chanoines vunt plainant,
L'ymage en fiertre unt envili
Cum vus avez devant oi,
Meisme le hore fu notée
1520 De plus sages de la contrée,
Un mal par tut le cors susprent
Ricard l'eveske horriblement
Sudain e laid de grant baillie
1524 Ke nomé est paralisie,
Ne puet ve[e]ir ne puet sentir,
.....
Ne puet conustre hume pur veir,
1528 Ne il ne se peut del liu mover.
Saillent si hume, si sergant,
Entre lur braz le vunt portant,
Plurent ou mut horrible cri,
^{146b} 'Sire : ' funt il, 'pur Deu merci,
'Parlez a nus, cheles k'avez,
'Vus fustes sein oreinz asez.'
Asez le vunt aresonant,
1536 Mes ne respont ne tant ne quant,
Ne saveit en quel siecle fu,
Tut l'unt pur mort iluec tenu,
Tut issi jut deske (le) mardi,
1540 De ci ke vint al vendredi,
Ne treit a sei ne main ne pié,
Les seens sunt mut desconseillié,
Par cele sale vunt pleinant,

1453 Cf. § 53, iii, ii.

1469-76 'The seneschal came to Dakinton...and here considered whom he should send to Chich for he would drive those out who were put there by the canons; ecclesiastics he would put there who would give him accounts; the bishop had the intention of taking the canons from that seat.'

1474 MS. *ou veskes eus*.

1475 Cf. § 20.

1483 Corr. *li chanoine unt....*

1492 The MS. is not very plain here; I am uncertain whether to read *tres[tut] estant* or to correct *tut en estant*, since it is not clear whether 'on its feet' or 'immediately' is the real meaning.

1493 Cf. § 17.

1496 Cf. § 53 i, iii A (the *ke* should be omitted)

1542 For *mut* cf. i, 1515.

- 1544 En la chambre funt doel [mut]
grant,
Kar al quer unt grant desconfort,
Ne sevent s'il est vif ou mort.
A tant es(te) vus repairez sunt
- 1548 Ke seinte Osith deseisie unt;
La novele mut esturmie
De lur seignieur unt ja oie.
Li seneschals vien(en)t au seignieur,
- 1552 K'il vei(en)t suspris de grant dolor,
William ke ja est repairez
De la u il fu enveiez.
'Sire, fet il, pur Deu merci,
- 1556 'Un poy ver moy entendez ci,
'Si de memoire rien avez,
'U nul home entendre poez,
'E raison de clerc u de lay,
- 1560 'Dunc entendez ke vus diray.
'Beau sire cher, tres bien savez
'Vers Dampnedeu mespris avez.
'Vers seinte Osith nomeement
- 1564 'Ke nus avum si folement
¹⁴⁶ 'Ja desaisie de sa terre;
^{va} 'Empris avum mut fole guerre;
'Quei k'en apres seit fet de nus
- 1568 'La peine chiet primes sur vus.
'Kar par autre oy avum,
'E par nus mesmes le savum,
'A seinte Osith ne peut hom rien
1572. 'Mesfaire, ja ceo sachez bien,
'K'ele n'enprengel tut vengeance
'Ke bien parra finalement,
'E ore l'avez pur verité,
- 1576 'Par vus me[s]mes esprové,
'Pur Deu tant cum vus poez,
'Sovaus de quer vus repentez,
'Kant est issi ke n'avez mye,
- 1580 'Force de lange ne de baillie,
'De quer criez a Deu merci
'E a seinte Osith (tut) autresi;
'E voez li sa terre rendre
- 1584 'Si ja vousist vers vus entendre;
'E Dampnedeu merci crier
'Pur vus de cest mal deslier.
'Pur Deu sire, car en pensez
- 1588 'Bien le veum mester avez,
'Pensez de ceo ke vus ay dit,
'Pur sa ducur Deus i ait.
A ceo ke il ad parlé si,
- 1592 Li eveske puis s'esperie,
Ke aveit longement geu,
E sanz vigur e sanz verteu;
Al seneschal k'ad si parlé
- 1596 E de son bien amonesté,
De la main destre vereiement,
¹⁴⁸ Le dei ou tut l'anel li tent,
Kar solunc ceo k'out en corage
- 1600 L'anel li tent e lui degage;
E cil li tret l'anel del dei
E si li dit: 'beau sire or vei
'Ke cest gage enveer volez,
- 1604 'A Deu vers ki mespris avez
'A seinte Osith nomeement,
'Pur li requere acordement,
'E as seignieurs de son mustur
- 1608 'Ke desaisie avum autre ier.
'Ore n'i ad en quant cest entent,
'Jeo m'en irray tut erranment.'
Li seneschal est ja muntez,
- 1612 (E) a seinte Osith tut dreit alez,
Veint a mustur, fet apeller,
E les seignieurs trestuz mander,
Sur l'autel ad [tut] en apert
- 1616 En l[ei] de gage l'anel offert,
Crié merci a tut entur
De par l'eveske son seignieur
E lur terre tut quitement
- 1620 E as chanoines tantost rent
E (si) requert tuz les assemblez
Ke le maufait seit pardonez.
Meisme l'oure k'est venuz
- 1624 A seinte Osith receuz
Pur le mesfait fere adrecier
Dunt est venu tel encombrer,
Bien unt noté, bien entendu
- 1628 E de plusurs est retenu,
K'a l'eveske demeintenant
La u esteit [com] mort gisant
¹⁴⁷ Este vos l'oie e la vue
- ^{va} 1632 E la parole ja rendue,
Meismes en point e l'ure dreit
Ke li gage[s] offert esteit
Gariz esteit si come si,
- 1636 Mes nequedent pur voir vus di,
Unk(es) puis sur piez n'estoit
allant,
Ne pout estre pur rien estant
Mes hum li fist une chaere,
- 1640 Aturné[e] en tele manere,
Ke ileukes fist quant fut errant,

1547 *Es, est, este, estes* seem all to be used, together with an inserted *le*, according to the exigencies of verse. Cf. l. 905.

1551 The copyist appears to have taken *li seneschals* for a plural.

1576 Cf. l. 1623 and § 64.

1624 Something is wanting to complete the sense; *e fu* might be inserted; the scansion of past participles with feminine *e* is not fixed. Cf. § 5. It seems quite likely that the words should be *tuz recreuz*.

1631 I can only read the initial *E* and following *s* and also what appears to be a *v*.

- Tant cum en munde fu conversant.
 Le merc tut dis bien li parut
 1644 Ke il en tel mal issi recut,
 Il puet ve[ei]r, il puet parler,
 Mes sur [ses] piez nul pas aler
 Dekes a sa fin verraiment,
 1648 Ne li estuit nul autrement,
 La chaere u fu portez,
 E par la terre tant menez,
 Esteit si cume fu furnée,
 1652 A seint Pol de Londres portée.
 Iluec remis est a tut dis
 Bien le sevent cil del pais,
 E cil ki iluec unt esté
 1656 Si enquis unt la verité.
 Seigniurs, freres, pur ceo vus di,
 Ke cest(e) example avez oï;
 Ne fet a Deu pas tel juer
 1660 Cum a veisin ne cum a per.
 Quant contre li pechent la gent,
 Il est mut suffrant longement,
 Mes tut seez de ceo seur,
 167^b Ke quant il fiert il fiert dur.
 Bien resavum la verité
 Seinte Osith ad grant pousté
 Ke Dampnedeu li ad doné,
 1668 Asez veu et bien mustré

- De sey venger e de ses enemis
 Ke li mesfunt en son pais,
 E pousté read ensement,
 1672 De mut valer a tute gent,
 Ke Deu vouldrunt e li servir,
 Mut bien purrat trestut merir
 Quanque hum frat pur li de bien,
 1676 Ne puet estre perdu pur rien.
 Ele est la sus en cel pais
 U Deu ad mis ses chers amis,
 Ne puet buche de hume parler,
 1680 Oreille oir ne quer penser,
 Ne oil ve[ei]r en nule manere
 Cum la joie est iluec pleniére.
 A tuz ceus qui Deu amerunt,
 1684 E de bon quer le servirunt,
 Seinte Osith nus seit en aye
 Tant cum sumes en ceste vie,
 Ke tant i puissum bien overer
 1688 E de peché nos cors garder,
 Ke puissum au jur de la fin
 Vers Deu tenir le dreit chemin,
 E meindre ou ses chers amys
 1692 Ke unt la joie de parais;
 [E] vers nus doint sa majesté
 Ke maint uns Deus en trinité.
 Amen.

1642 Corr. *mund* as in l. 40.1664 Corr. *mut dur.* Cf. l. 1432.1669 The sense demands the correction *des enemis*.

1674 Cf. § 59.

LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION.

As few Anglo-Norman texts are accessible in good editions, it seems fitting to follow the method as far as possible of one of the best of these—Professor Stimming's *Boeve de Haumtone*—and to present this study of the language of the Life of St Osith in the same order; we can then refer to the pages in his edition where references are made to other texts and thus economise space. We shall refer to his edition as St. and to Suchier's *Voyelles toniques* as S. The comparison is made all through with Central French. The two portions of the poem which, as we have stated in the Introduction, appear to be of doubtful originality, will be referred to as (A) and (B) when they call for special notice.

VOWELS.

§ 1. French *a*.

This sound appears regularly as *a* in conformity with Central French as is proved by the rimes in *a*, e.g. 33, 165, 173, 467 etc., also in (B) 221, 227, 348. Neither the scribe nor the author knew the form in *ai* (cf. *Vie de saint Richard*¹). Other pure rimes in *-a* are: *-able* 17; *-acle* 365; *-age* 71, 375; *-as* 371, 653; *-ast* 119, 563.

Before *l*, the development of Latin *-a* tonic shows hesitation; thus side by side with the correct *tel* : *ostel* 1123 (cf. § 4) we find *esperital* 308 (cf. § 59) but only in (B); the remaining rimes in *-al* [all in (B)] are correct—305, 307.

This hesitation of the ending < *-alis* is found often in Anglo-Norman and Norman, commonly in the West of France, while it is correct in S.W. French dialects. For Agn. Gaimar has *ostel* : *criminel* 545; *mal* : *estal* 3129. Adgar rimes *mal* : *reial* xvii 545; *vassals* : *reials*

¹ *Vie de saint Richard* in *Revue des Langues romanes*, Oct. 1910. We shall refer to this life again simply as *St Richard*.

xxxiv 93; *mals : criminals* xxviii 105 etc. In our poem both poet and scribe knew only the forms *tel* and *quel*. Before *r* here as elsewhere in Agn. we find sometimes *e*, e.g. *herneschant* 913.

In the protonic syllable *a* remains, at least in the orthography; nothing further can be said as there are no cases of rich or over rich rime. Thus we find *laur* 895; *flael* 1428 etc.; and after a palatal *chaere* 1639, 1649, and the learned *chanoine* 1263 etc., *charité* 1468.

Here as elsewhere in Agn. we have *chescun*.

The protonic syllable has disappeared in *granter* 1093, though it would seem to be required in the original text in line 723.

Protonic initial *a* is sometimes replaced by a different prefix *en* as *entendirent* for *atendirent* 803; *enchesoun* 304 for *achoisoun* or *achoise*, *ensemble* 428. [St., pp. 172—3.]

§ 2. French *ā*.

The Agn. custom of writing *-an* as *-aun* is rare in our poem; we find only *auntes* 206 (B); the rimes in *-ant* are all pure, cf. 61, 185, 473, 535, 541 etc. and 317—9 in (B), also those in *-ance* 157 and in *-andre* 41; *orient* and *talent* which hesitate in Agn. and Norman are here found only in rime with *-en*, cf. § 6. Here, as commonly in Agn., we have *uncore*, a form which may be due to analogy with *unc*, *onc* < unquam. In the protonic, the scribe at any rate uses *en*, e.g. *ensen-
glanté* 817, 823. [St., p. 173; S. § 39.]

§ 3. French open *e* [ε].

After *e* and before *u* < *l* a glide *a* has developed; thus *beau passim*; this sound may then rime with *-aus* < *al* + *s*, cf. *beaus : chivars* 25 (cf. S. §§ 58 a, 59 b). The rimes in *-e* are mainly pure, cf. *chancel : bel* 1203; *mantel : pasturel* 331 (B); *novele : ancele* 433 (cf. S. § 15 b): *apele* 635; *anceles : puceles* 49; *pucele : bele* 169; *apres : confes* 965 : *ades*; *pert : sert* 5; *apert : cert* 189 : *offert* 1615; *tempeste : moleste* 865; those in *-ere* are furnished only by *terre*, *guerre*, and *quere* or their derivatives, cf. 83, 380, 1075, 1085, 1163, 1565.

There is some hesitation with *est*, it rimes correctly with *prest* 571 but also with *icest* 543, 729; a similar rime may be found in the *Tristan* of Bérout 2049 and in the *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thacon 881 *est : met* < mittit, and with this may be compared the rime *ere* (< erat) : *pere* in *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne* 511¹ and *Énéas* 2159, 3927.

The words *mariners : juvenels* 883 have been corrected in a footnote to the text. [St., p. 174.]

¹ Our edition of this interesting life is to appear shortly.

§ 4. French close *e* [e].

Central Old French possessed two varieties of close *e* which may have differed by length only:

A. Close short *e* < Latin checked $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{i}$ except before nasal consonant. There is no satisfactory rime on this sound; *richesse*: *tristesse* 15 proves nothing as both represent *-itia*¹ but the former should give *richise*; the other *-chiet*: *met* 601 is hardly satisfactory; here *chiet* of the MS. or perhaps *chuet*, since the right to left strokes which are usually found over *i* are here absent, would seem to be for *calet*, the word does not appear elsewhere in the poem but it is found in Agn. as *cheut* and *chiut* (Central French *chieut*) in the *Quatre Livres des Rois* and in Samson de Nantuil who rimes *chiut*: *suit* (cf. Suchier § 32 a). If *chuet* is the correct reading of the MS., it seems likely that it is an alteration of the scribe for *cheut*; this change of spelling should indicate a pronunciation $\bar{o}$ which varied between $\bar{\alpha}$ and $\bar{\phi}$ according to the consonant which followed; the presence of the labial nasal in *met* may have produced an effect of rounding (the $\bar{\epsilon}$ is very rare in rime²) and have caused the poet to consider the rime good enough. Another solution seems possible and this is that the poet wrote the form *chiet*; *ie* standing for *ieu*, a reduction to be found in several Norman and Agn. poets, cf. *fieu* > *fié*, e.g. *fiez*: *veziëz*, Marie de France, *Eliduc* 63; this would then give a rime *ié*: $\bar{\epsilon}$; similar rimes are found e.g. *clers* (< cléricos): *fers* (< fēros) *St Gilles* 2241; *clerz*: *querz* in Frère Angier, *Grégoire* 3 r^a.

B. *e* long < Latin *a*.

The instances are extremely common and words with this accented vowel form a large percentage of the rime words. The rimes are pure, viz.:

- é* 21, 93, 95, 129, 143 etc., also in (B) 205, 327 etc.
- ée* 69, 127, 171.
- ef* *nef*: *tref* 945, also (B) 276.
- el* *tel*: *ostel* 1123, cf. § 1.

¹ What should be the outcome of *-itia* is a much discussed difficulty; we have *richise* (*Poème moral*); *richeise* (Adgar xxx 29); *St Gilles* has *richeise* and *richaise* and *richesce* 356, 277, 549 but only *richeise* (: *peise*) in rime; *Bestiaire* has *justise*: *mise* 67 and *richeise*: *deprise* 1409. We may suppose *richesce* to be a younger form.

² For the scarcity of this rime cf. S. § 16 e and Förster in *Zeitschrift* xxviii, 508; the tirades of any assonanced *chanson de geste* will if long be found on examination to consist largely of diminutives as final words; in rimed poems, $\bar{\epsilon}$ hardly furnished 1 per cent. of the rimes, thus *met* occurs in rime only three times in Wace, cf. Pohl in *Rom. Forsch.* ii, p. 544; twice in Benoît, cf. Stock in *Rom. Stud.* iii, 450; twice in *Énéas* 3721, 8981 (*metent*: *getent* 3833); once in Adgar 29. 46; once in *Ste Marie* 1083, and not at all in *St Gilles* or the *Adamspiel*, while in the *Bestiaire* we find *met*: *bec*, the vowel of which is probably open, cf. § 3.

er infinitives of the 1st conjugation are very numerous, cf. § 17 (for *targer* : *saver* 304 cf. § 15).

ere rime furnished only by *pere* : *mere* 23, 133.

ez 2nd person pl. of verbs and a few other words as *delez* : *prez* 323 and the endings *-atus*, *-atos*.

Different spellings are used to denote this sound, viz.:

(i) *e* as above and also in *el* < *alum* for *aliud* 1301, *heent* 796, *sevent* 185, *set* 96, 544.

(ii) *ee* as *neez* 32, cf. also *vv.* 369—70.

(iii) *ei* as *asenseie* (: *veie*, cf. § 15) 1181.

(iv) *i* as in the form *remis* for *remes* < *remansum*; this past participle is found in certain Agn. and Norman works, cf. Suchier § 17 d. [St., pp. 175—6.]

§ 5. French atonic *e*.

A. Before the accented syllable.

Side by side with the correct and usual form *e* as in *chevache* 601, *chemin* 273, *cheminal* 307, *acheminé* 270, *enchesoun* 304, *poseer* 1453, *repelle* 378 etc. we have other spellings:

(i) *a* *asaer* 937, *manascer* 703.

(ii) *i* *chival* 26, 600, 605; *cristiene* 795; *diable* 1313; *ordinez* 417, 1251; *primere* 157.

(iii) *o* (*u*) *sucur* 125; *solunc* 1599; *pour* 630; *suveus* 344 *sovaus* 1578; *pousté* 1666.

(iv) In the 3rd pl. pres. indic. *-ent* appears frequently as *-unt*, e.g. *atendunt* 28 etc.

Very early (certainly since the fourth decade of the twelfth century) Agn. words are found in which atonic *e* is either omitted or not counted in scansion. The earliest to show this reduction seem to be nouns in *-ure* as the *porture* 380, *enveisure* 992 of our text and a compound like *bonurté* and perhaps *bonuré* 127; next in order come past participles in *-ëu* as *jëu*, *vëu*, cf. 1153; and *granté*, cf. 1214, then the corresponding preterites as our *decut* 1400, *jut* (: *apercut*) 1139; about the same time is to be placed the mutation of the feminine *e* of adverbs: *drein* 871; *memes* 246, 1570 (but cf. 1576); *seurement* (cf. 88), *veraiement*.

B. After the accented syllable.

It is a sign of late thirteenth century Anglo-Norman to find the final *e* wanting; except for *un'* 869 and *el'* 1573, this occurs only in (B) *disai* 201, *merveil* 266 (: *conseil*), *chai* (: *obli*) 281, but cf. § 55 II, *chausé* 335.

It is doubtful whether the rime *verité*: *voé* 527 is a case of disappearance of final *e*; although only *voée* seems to be known in the sense of *vow*, it is possible that a masculine form may also have existed; it should be noticed that the adjective is in the masculine. In the *Haveloc* we find *avowé* as a masculine (: *adubbé*) 927.

We may now enquire into the syllabic value of this *e* and we shall consider (B) apart.

I. In the following cases *e* appears in the orthography and is syllabic.

(*a*) Nouns: *deable* 1309, 1313; *ordenez* 660; *reïne* 134, 688; *seüs* 562; in line 697 the initial word *mes* should be omitted.

(*β*) Pronoun: *ele* 1388.

(*γ*) Verbs: (i) past participles: *creu* 1332; *leue* 67; *seu* 68, 1042; *peu* 115; *veu* 444, 561, 927, 1064, 1306, 1402 and 309 (B).

(ii) other parts of the verb: *deusent* 1453; *deseelez* 1409; *poseer* 1453; *veum* 21; *veeit* 168; *veeir* 348 (B).

(*δ*) Adjectives and adverbs: *derein* 1097; *verai* 59; *nomeement* 1300, 1605.

(*ε*) The *e* is also counted after a vowel with following consonant: *contrée* 186; *guarrie* 1284; *portée* 1217; *venue* 1212; *voie* 1170.

(*ζ*) The word *sire* which in Agn. often counts for one syllable only (cf. St Richard § 77) is here dissyllabic, e.g. 1142, 1161, 1587.

II. In the following cases *e* appears but is not counted.

(*a*) Nouns: *deable* 696, 1303 (cf. I(*a*) above); *havene* 877 etc.; in *abeïes* 784 the line appears to have been altered by the scribe who has inserted *la* unnecessarily.

(*β*) Pronouns: *une* 536; *ele* 1246, 1301, 1388, 1572; *cele* 1177, 1231 etc.

(*γ*) Verbs: *purveu* 1153, especially with the combination mute + liquid: *enbeverez* 493; *troverez* 1173; *severez* 1364; *deliverat* 1408; *avera passim*; since *teoldé* 874 is not found elsewhere, it is difficult to decide, but as *tialz* (see footnote to l. 874) is dissyllabic the verb should be also, the line could be emended by omission of *bien*.

(*δ*) Adjectives and adverbs: *veraie* 1286; *vereiement* 1597; *seurement* 88; *meïmes* 493, 575; *cume* 1398.

(*ε*) Preposition: *dekes* = *dek'* 1018 and elsewhere.

An *e* may be inserted contrary to etymology and will then not be counted, e.g. *creient* 5; *empouwerist* 692; *perdeu* 169, 1676; *seurveillie* 1104.

In the section we call (B) the accented vowel is generally silent

in any position, thus: *age* 264 for *eage*; *ewe* 273; *sust* 253; *seumes* 338; *peust* 360; *deust* 359; *preist* 228; *veistes* 329; *veimes* 334; *venir* 261; *appela* 241; *amedouz* (fem.) 341 influenced by *ansdous*; *une* 290.

[St., pp. 176—84.]

§ 6. French *ē*.

The nasal is invariably represented by *en* and the rimes are all pure, there is no confusion of *en* and *an* (cf. § 2). Rimes in *-ent* (41 in all) are pure as e.g. *prent*:*follement* 9; *entent*:*sovent* 101 etc.; even *talent* and *orient* rime with *vent* 906, *premerement* 1341 and with *rent* 837; the same is true for (B). The purity of the rimes is carried through even before a heavy consonant group, e.g. *prendre*:*atendre* 657; *entre*:*ventre* 611.

As in Central French we have *volentiers* 119, 250. The change of the suffix *a* to *en* as in *enchesoun* 304 (compared with the correct form *achesun* l. 1508), common in thirteenth century Agn., is attributable to the scribe. Cf. § 1.

[St., pp. 184—5.]

§ 7. French *i*.

This vowel appears regularly as *i*:*belif* 947; *dis* 1653 etc.; the spelling *y*, frequent in the latter part of the thirteenth century (cf. Stürzinger, *Orthographia gallica*, rule 17), is little used in our poem; we find however *ly* 549; *say* 1162 (but *sai* 1164); *noyse* 536; *ymage* 1492; *Ynguar* 770.

The rimes in *-i* are pure, consisting chiefly of past participles of the second conjugation, e.g. ll. 57, 149, or of *ci*, *si*, *merci* etc., e.g. 187, 351, 353, 471. Rimes in *-ie* are pure also, e.g. ll. 75, 123 etc. The same is true of the following rimes: *-ir* (mainly infinitives) 75, 413, 453, 457, 497 etc.; *-ire* 445, 455 etc.; *-ist* as *fist*:*prist* 117; *-it* 463, 495, 1175; *-is* 393, 399 etc.; *-ise* 361, 693, 1245; *-iz* 233. This *i* comes regularly from *-iei* as *mi* 278 and may be in rime with *i* < Latin *i*; cf. l. 471. In the protonic *i* appears also as *deliat* 1407; *otria* 249; septimus is represented by *sime* 1240 by analogy with *dime*, *disme* and the ending *-ime*.

In Agn. the spellings *ei* and *ie* are found sporadically, e.g. *preisa* 165, 168; *vierent* 1200.

[St., pp. 185—7.]

§ 8. French *ī*.

This sound is represented by *-in* as *fin*:*chemin* 27, 1169; *enclin* 637; the rimes in *-in* are pure as too are those in *-ine* 697; *-int* 215, 425, 485. There is only one case of *-ein* for *-in*, viz. *veint* 1613. For *creient* see § 18.

[St., p. 188.]

§ 9. French open *o* [ɔ].A. ɔ < popular Latin *au*.

This sound is almost exclusively represented in Agn. by *o* and it would appear to keep its open quality intact; there is only one rime in our poem—*chose* : *pose* 533; other words are: *or*, *unkore*, *noe* 591; *estorer* 741; *loer* 56; *osum* 653; *oster* 1115; *otreia* 222; and the various parts of the verb *oïr*. The reading *out* 433 should doubtless be *ot* as in line 95 while the outcome of *apud* figures often as *ou* 238, 628, cf. § 24. For this *ou* cf. Miss Pope's *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*; St., p. 189 and S. § 13 c.

B. ɔ < Latin checked and atonic *ɔ*.

This sound is also generally represented by *o*; e.g. *col* 281; *cors* 347; *fors* 348; *fort* 610; *folie* 1425; *novele* 1549; *orer* 886; *volage* 239. Since the rimes in *-ose* are so rare in Agn. we may quote the following:

Adgar *chose* : *glose* 36. 42; : *rose* 9. 143.Simund de Freine *chose* : *pose* St G. 855.*Vie de Ste Catherine* *chose* : *ose* 1299 : *pose* 2063.Chardry *repose* : *Theodose* S.D. 831; *rose* : *disclose* S.D. 623.*Vie de Ste Marie l'Égyptienne* *chose* : *rose* 467.*Vie de St Richard* *chose* : *parclose* 27.*Disputeison de l'ame et du corps* *chose* : *rose* iv 3, 6.

Suchier (§ 13, a 4) admits as providing open *o* in French a number of borrowed words where *ɔ* or *ō* are in open syllables. [St., p. 189.]

§ 10. French close *o* [o].

French close *o* has doubtless the sound [u], i.e. *ou* in Agn. and the MSS. use this symbol very extensively. In our poem the words riming on this sound have generally *u*, e.g. *creatur* : *seigniur* 9; *honur* : *amur* 39; *tur* : *jur* 1103, 1149 etc.; other than in rime the stressed syllable is always represented by *u*, *curuce* 684; *dutuse* 109; *joïuse* 230; *mustre* 1; *tut* is also found as *tuit*, e.g. 48. In the syllable under secondary stress both *o* and *u* are found and occasionally *ou* : *sovent* 100; *doter* 35; *mustrer* 343; *purrum* 75; *oure*, *houre* 865 but *hore* 569; *nus*, *vus*, *cum*, *but*, *mut*, *dunc* always appear with *u* and spellings with *u* form about eighty per cent. of the whole; the spellings *ou* and *ui* seem rare: *voua* 124; *tuit* 381; *ou* < *o* + vocalised *l* remains. [St., pp. 190—91.]

§ 11. French *ō*.

Although *u* is so common for *o*, *un* is less frequent than *on*. In the rime words *on* occurs with only two exceptions—ll. 675, 773; the

first plural ending is always *-um*; *conseil* and compounds of *cum-* are regularly *com-*; *doner* is always so spelt; *son* is much commoner than *sun*, but curiously enough while *-ons* is always so spelt, *unt* is preferred without exception, the same is true for *-unde* 587; we find both *long* and *lung*, *longement* and *lungement*; the ending *-ion* is constant. The spelling *-oun* is rare. [St., pp. 191—2.]

§ 12. French *u* and *ũ*.

The sound is represented by two spellings, *u* and *ui*, the second is rare; there seems to be only one example in our poem: *estuit* for *estut* 1648. The rimes are pure, e.g. those in (i) *u* 81, 115, 505, 523 and in (B) 195, 309, 311; (ii) *ue* 67, 443; (iii) *ume* 875; (iv) *ure* 1, 355, 701, 991; (v) *us* 107, 561, 1223; (vi) *ut* 181, 1137; with one exception *aventure*: *oure* 547. As is common in Agn. de usquam appears as *deke*, *dekes*.

The nasal *u* is rare, it occurs once only in rime and offers no varieties in orthography. [St., p. 193.]

§ 13. French *ai*.

The sound *ai* began early to develop into *e*; among the first words to show this are *ewe* 273, *lermes* 1499 or where *ai* is followed by a heavy consonant group, e.g. *mestre* 209, *nestre* 193; later the change is found in any enclosed position. The change is more complete in Agn. than elsewhere and occurs in any position; the sound varies between close and open *e*. When *ai* was final it appears to have retained its diphthongal pronunciation throughout the thirteenth century. The change is explained as taking place through *ei* and all three spellings, *ai*, *ei*, *e*, are to be found. Examples of these are: *contraite* 1067; *fait* 138; *feit* 478; *treit* 168; *fet* 4; *mes* 238; *trere* 1196. This last spelling is perhaps commoner than either of the others. The reduction of *ai* to *a* seems only to occur in unstressed syllables, e.g. *paens* 763. The spelling *ai* occurs also for *ei*, e.g. *disaie*: *tuchaie* 201 (B). The rimes in *ai* are strikingly pure: (i) *ai diray*: *lay* 1559; otherwise this rime is furnished only by the ending of the first person of the preterite or future as in ll. 199, 315, 989; (ii) *ait mesfait*: *plait* 111; *ait*: *vait* 553; cf. also ll. 669, 933, 967 against an incorrect rime *vait*: *dreit* 899; (iii) *aire* pure for *faire*: *traire* 1355 and *here*: *trere* 1495 while for *feire* (< *fëria*): *trere* 1195 we may assume that *ei* > *ai* before *ai* > *e* and this is supported by the modern spelling *fair*; the single rime in *-aite* is pure also, despite the spelling, *contraite*: *desheite* 1159.

[St., pp. 193—6.]

§ 14. French *ai*.

This sound is generally represented by *ein*, e.g. *meins* 785; *pleint* 1242; *seinte* no other spelling; *seinteté* 236 etc. The rimes are with one exception pure, e.g. *mains* : *noneins* 785 (the spelling of the MS. is retained); *main* : à *plein* 781, 925, 943 (*plein* < *plano*, cf. G. Paris, *St Gilles*¹ xxvii); *drein* : *prochein* 871 but *main* : *sein* (< *sinus*) 667. The rimes in *aine* are, however, confused, *funtaine* : *meine* 799; *peine* : *semeine* 1295; that in *-aint* is pure, *remaint* : *plaint* 1125. The result of an enquiry I have made into these rimes in Agn. texts of the twelfth century² is as follows:

1. Philippe de Thaun:

(a) *Comput*. No examples of confusion.

(b) *Bestiaire*. One doubtful case, cf. Walberg, Introduction, p. xlviii.

2. *Reimpredigt*. No faulty rimes.

3. Gaimar. One faulty rime in *ain*, viz. *plain* : *serein* 767. Vising in his *Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du xii^e siècle*, p. 84 quotes as instances of confusion *grifaine* : *quinzaine* 3007 and *plein* : *main* 4033, but *grifaine* of the first is regularly found in rime with words in *-aine* and *aigne*, and *plein* of the second example might conceivably be for *plain*, such is the reading of one at least of the MSS.

4. Adgar, *Miracles*. Fifteen cases of confusion.

5. G. de Berneville, *St Gilles*. No confusion.

6. *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne*. Only one clear case of confusion, *quarantaine* : *ceine* 747.

7. *Le Donnei des Amants* (*Romania* xxv p. 497 seq.). *sein* is found twice in rime with *main* 787, 801 and once with *vilein* 831.

8. Chardry. Two cases of confusion.

Our poem is therefore in this particular not more advanced than several poems that are older. [St., p. 196.]

§ 15. French *ei* (later *oi*).

This sound occurs in Agn. correctly only as *ei*, e.g. *dei* 1598; *eire* 258; *feire* 1195 (cf. § 13); *feiz* 346; *neir* 331; also *ei* < *e + n* and *l* mouillées as in *deignast* 343; *esmerveillée* 302. The following spellings are also found: (i) *e* in *aparer* 617; *aver* 98; *mescreve* 1319; (ii) *i* in

¹ So also in Wace: *E prent quanque il treue a plein*, Rou 1698.

² I have, of course, noted special works on the subject as Vising, o. c. (1882) and Rolfs, *Adgarlegenden* in Vol. 1 (1883) of the *Romanische Forschungen*, though it will be noticed that I do not always arrive at similar results; this is due to the fact that better editions are now available.

damisele 274; *deviez* 1403; (iii) *oi* in *moi* 244; *damoisele* 315, 329. [Note these are only found in (B).]

The sound is probably still slightly diphthongal; it is only found in rime with itself as is shown by the following lines: (i) *-ei* in *fey: ley* 141, 423; *rey: mey* 451; (ii) *-eis* in *reis: Engleis* 131; (iii) *-eil* in *veil: peil* 689; (iv) *-eille* in *merveille: veille* 1193; (v) *-eir* in *veir: poeir* 509; (vi) *-eit* in *esteit: aveit* 517; *espleit: veneit* 559; *dreit* 784 (cf. § 54 iv).

Our poem contains four instances in which *veie* < *via* is in rime with feminine past participles < *-ata*, viz. *alée* 811, *asenseie* 1185, *portée* 1207, *entrée* 1333. This is not a proof that *ei* has become *e* but that *é* followed by a feminine *e* has a tendency to diphthongise. There are instances of this in Frère Angier, e.g. *veies: remuées* (see Miss Pope's *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, p. 11), and also in Chardry, *monée* < *moneta: dunée* and *aportée* [*Sept Dormanz* 1205, 1291]. For Chardry the rime doubtless indicates that *ei* has become *é* but our text presents another instance, viz. the rime *levée: desree* 537; here *desree* stands for *desreie* and is therefore another instance of *-eie: ée*. A similar rime is to be found in *Aiol*, a late twelfth century text with N.E. dialectic characteristics, *desree: trainée*, while like rimes are common in W. and S.W. dialects. It is one of the points of interest of Anglo-French to find it in agreement with continental dialects. Professor Stimming quotes (p. 175) a number of instances in which *ée* < *-āta* appears as *eie*, e.g. *espeie, valeie*. We have seen § 4 B above that *ei* is a recognised spelling for *e*, it is frequent in the Corpus Christi (Oxford) MS. of *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne* where this sound occurs in the last word of a line. There is a tendency also in Agn. to insert *i* between the antitonic and the tonic vowel, e.g. *ayé* (< *ætatem*), *veyer* (< *vetare*) in *Boeve de Haumtone*; *loïée* (< *laudata*) in *Destruction de Rome* 32, an Agn. MS. of possibly some other dialect (cf. *Romania* II p. 5).

The forms *aver, poer, saver* etc. found frequently in rime in Agn. with infinitives of the first conjugation are probably cases of analogical formation (cf. P. Meyer in Bozon, *Contes*, p. lxii). Instances of this would seem to occur about the end of the twelfth century; the earliest examples I have met are in *Le Donnei des Amants* (dated by G. Paris at the end of the twelfth century); *aver: aler* 980, *doloser* 1144; the cases quoted by Rolfs (*l.c.* p. 209) from Adgar are only in poems—*Gregory* and *The Abbess delivered by the Virgin*—of doubtful authenticity; in the remaining poems Adgar's rimes are pure. Our poem has one instance but only in (B), the doubly incorrect *targer* (for *targier*): *saver*

303 and with this may be compared *esmaer:veer* (< videre) in the *Legend of Gregory* 1750 just mentioned.

[St., pp. 197—200 and 237—8.]

§ 16. French *eñ*.

The sound is represented by *-ein* as *sein* 668; *ameine* 401; *peine* 402; for the rimes cf. § 14.

§ 17. French *ie*.

The sound is represented by *ie* and by *e*: (i) *ariere* 542; *chiet* 1361; *ciel* 8, 503; *fiert* 1664; *siecle* 36 (this word is generally so spelt in Agn.); (ii) *aider* 121; *cel* 377 (this spelling is rare compared with *ciel* which is found in texts which have elsewhere regularly reduced *ie* to *e*); *meuz* 89; *mester* 232 etc.; *neces* 154 etc.

The reduction of *íee* to *ie* represented by the orthography of ll. 1221—2 is not supported by a rime with *ie* < *i* + *a* etc. The rimes in *ie* are singularly pure. In the passages that may be ascribed to the original author no cases of mixed rimes, *ie*:*é*, are to be found; *posé*:*cungé* 1497; *loer:cher* 1497 are in the Episode we call (A). In the main body of the poem there are 145 rimes in *é* (*é*, *ée*, *ées*, *ef*, *el*, *er*, *ere*, *ez*) and 49 in *ie* (*ie*, *íee*, *íees*, *ier*, *iez*). In the passage we call (B) there are 18 pure rimes in *é*, 3 in *ie* and 8 mixed, viz. ll. 207, 209, 229, 231, 301, 303, 329, 367. Suchier has compiled a list (§ 29) of words which are found, now in rime with *ie* and now with *é*; of these our text contains—*regné*:*ensembelé* 428:*volunté* 745; *malvesté*:*enticé* 1323; *deviez* (< *de* + *vita* + *are*):*aler* 1403; *crier*:*deslier* 1585; *oublié*:*esté* 629. These may be left out of our calculations. The question of mixed rimes in Agn. is a very interesting one. In the earliest poets such infractions are rare but they steadily increase till a pure rime becomes a mere matter of chance. I have drawn up some statistics of the proportion of these mixed rimes in Agn. writers: thus we find

Author or work	No. of lines	Pure	Mixed	Proportion of pure to mixed
Gaimar	6534	586	9	65·1 to 1
Adgar ¹	6870	642	10	64·2 to 1
St Gilles	3794	489	12	40·9 to 1
Haveloc	1106	129	6	21·5 to 1
Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne	1534	171	13	13·3 to 1
(A) 278		36	2	18 to 1
Sainte Osith	(B) about 204	21	8	2·62 to 1

¹ Adgar has the peculiarity of finishing so many of his legends with the words...*Dame chiere:preiere* that it is necessary to make some allowance; we have deducted therefore 40 from the number of pure rimes and from the number of total lines; the two poems named in § 15 have not been considered for this list; they contain many cases of mixed rimes.

I am not inclined to lay much stress on the proportion of pure to mixed rimes as a factor for determining the date of Anglo-French poems, but it is interesting to see how the proportion of mixed rimes corresponds roughly to the date of production. The matter of the dialect is too complicated for any one phenomenon to be decisive; it is necessary, as G. Paris stated (*St Gilles*, Introd. p. xxv) as long ago as 1881, to know something of the writer's upbringing. There is also the larger question: how many poets whose works show anglicisms are really English born or only immigrants? It seems fairly certain that Frère Angier came from a S.W. French province and that his language had become contaminated by residence in England¹; the same, I believe, is true for the author of the *Destruction de Rome* (published in *Romania* I, pp. 1 seq.) who would seem to be a native of one of the North or North-Eastern provinces and by a lengthy stay in England could be content to allow such words as *celer* (l. 269) to find a place in a tirade of *ié* assonances or *chargié* (942), *asiegier* (1461), *Oliviers* (1501) etc. into others that contain only *é* assonances. [St., pp. 201—2.]

§ 18. French *iē*.

The sound is represented by *ien* as in *bien* 5, 1270; *criendre* 106; it is reduced to *-en* only after *i* as *terrien* 60; *crestiens* 768, 795. The spelling *creient* (ll. 3, 5) may also be noted here (cf. § 5, ii *ε*). The rimes in *-ien* are all pure; *bien* : *rien* 167, 389; *mien* : *rien* 437. Other Agn. authors are less careful; thus we have in Gaimar *ancien* : *anz* 1785; in Adgar *crestiens* : *sens* 5. 101 : *tens* 6. 223 etc. Mention apart must be made of the word *nient*; it is monosyllabic in lines 47, 707, 1363 and dissyllabic in 576, 663, 845. It is generally found in rime with words in *-ent* as *entent* 663 and with adverbs in *-ment*, e.g. ll. 576, 846, 1392. This phenomenon is noticed in the earliest Agn. texts: thus in the *Bestiaire* (*nient* is not in rime in the *Comput*) we find that it is both mono- and dissyllabic and that it rimes in the same way as here (cf. Walberg's edition p. li). Gaimar has *nient* : *descent* 4019; Adgar *nient* : *gent* 31. 33 : *maintient* 30. 175 etc.; *St Gilles* *neent* (and *nent* 489) : *pulent* 222 : *verraïement* 1100. [St., p. 203.]

§ 19. French *ieu*.

This sound occurs in a very limited number of words and the spellings *eu* and *iu* are the most frequent; our text offers: Nominative

¹ See the work quoted in § 15. This would seem to be true for Marie de France, whose later works show anglicisms such as the earlier ones do not contain; see G. Paris' review of *L'Espurgatoire* in *Romania* xxiv p. 290 seq.

case, *Deus* 117, *Dieu* 434, *Deu* 1423; Acc., *Deu* 31, and *Dampnedeu* very frequent for both cases. The form used for purposes of the rime is commonly in Agn.¹ and many French dialects *Dé*, e.g.: *overé* 1206. We find also in our poem *geu* 992; *giu* 478; *liu* 192, 924.

[St., p. 204.]

§ 20. French *di* [oi].

Very few words with this diphthong exist; it is represented here by *oi* and *oy*, e.g. *oi* (< *habui*) 318; *soi* (< *sapui*) 320; *poy* (< *paucum*); this last is the common form in Agn. In the dialect of our text we find that *ø* + *l* mouillée gives *oil* and we have *doil* 1116; *oilz* 502; and *voil*: *soil* 1475. The word *soil* does not appear in Godefroy in the Latin sense of seat which it appears to have in line 1476 but only in the sense of *souiller*. We have also the rime *estoire*: *memoire* 97; this is a stock rime in Old French, in fact only the learned words can be used for the purpose. Instances of this are—*Bestiaire*, *gloire*: *victoire* 205. Gaimar uses as rime words: *estoire*, *gloire*, *memoire*, *tempoire*, *victoire*, see ll. 3239, 3311, 5711. Adgar uses *estoire* and *memoire*. Most Agn. scribes write *-orie* but this is not the case in our MS.

[St., p. 204.]

§ 21. French *oi* [oi].

The diphthong is somewhat rare, it occurs in Agn. as both *oi* and *ui*, e.g. *voiz* 383; *anguisse* 517; *ui* appears to be preferred in the pro-tonic as *anguisuse* 389 and *fuison* 1464.

[St., p. 205.]

§ 22. French *oi*. This too is rare, it appears as *oin* and *uin*, e.g. *doint* 349 etc., *luintain* 187, *puignant* 549. It does not appear in rime.

[St., p. 205.]

§ 23. French *ou* [ou].

This sound only occurs in our text in verb forms: *out* < *habuit* 1441; *plout* < *placuit* 1442. This favourite rime in Agn. only occurs here twice and with the foregoing words. For the ending *-out* in imperfects of the first conjugation, see § 54 iv.

[St., p. 205.]

¹ The treatment of *eu* and *ieu* in rimes needs special investigation: for *Deu* it is interesting to note that certain texts only rime with a limited group of words e.g. Gaimar *Deu*: *feu* (germ. *fehu*) 4321, : *leu* 1410; Adgar, *Deu*: *Jueu* 5. 13 : *Andreu* 19. 51 and this is also true for *Braudan*; whereas Philippe de Thaon, *Fantosme*, *Sanson de Nantuil*, *St Gilles*, *Ste Marie* and also Wace rime *Deu* with any word in *e* < *a*. But for the rarely occurring Nominative *Des* or *Dens* the rimes available seem to be few (cf. § 32). Thus in the *Bestiaire* *Des*: *esperitels* 195; Gaimar: *remes* 3601. The rime of *e(u)s* so frequently with *remes* may be more than a mere coincidence and may indicate a labialised pronunciation of *e* (cf. § 4) for we have the rimes *remes*: *tex* in Benoit, *Troie* 19495 : *Idomenes* *ibid.* 28921, : *ostels*, Wace, *Rou* III, 4869, 4888 and frequently in Chrestien de Troyes, : *Kes*, *Yruin* 2179; : *ostels*, *Erec* 5697; : *Gres*, *Cligés* 3623, 4212.

§ 24. French *ou* [ou].

Few words only contain this sound. Here we have *dous* and in (B) *deuz* 346 and *amedeuz* 341. The outcome of *ubi* is *u* 188 and *ou* 367; *ou* is often found for *apud* (cf. § 9) and in its place our MS. has *eu* (ll. 390, 392). [St., p. 206.]

§ 25. French *ue*.

This sound is represented in a variety of ways:

(i) *ue*: *estuet* 392; *iluec* 617, 1108; *puet* 190; *suer* 1095, 1217, 1220, 1229; *quer* 305.

(ii) *u*: *estut* 35; *iluc* 1008; *vus* (for *vues* or *veus* < *völes*) 1141.

(iii) *oe*: *poeple* 488; *iloec* 298.

(iv) *o*: *ilokes* 875; *volent* 664; *bor* (also *bour* 31) 1424.

(v) *eu*: *leus* 323; *peut* 121; *seur* 242.

(vi) As the outcome of *aviolus* our text has *aels* instead of *aieus*. We have considered *voil* and *soil* in § 20; the form *seur* is found in (B) in rime with *amur* 221 and with *ducure* 241, cf. § 43 iv.

[St., pp. 206—7.]

§ 26. French *uë*.

The spelling *uen* seems almost unknown in Agn. Peter of Peckham (*St Richard*) has *suens* side by side with *seens*, which form occurs in our text 1542; the pronoun from *homo* is *l'em* 94, otherwise *homo* and *bonum* only give *hom* and *bon*. [St., p. 209.]

§ 27. French *ui*.

This sound is found in our poem represented by *ui* and *u*. Most of the rimes are pure, e.g. *bruit*: *tuit* 999; *ennui*: *sui* 643; *fuire*: *destruire* 767. In Norman and Anglo-Norman *ui* is often reduced to *u* when *s* follows and in Agn. in conjunction with other letters. This *u* may then rime with original *u*, e.g. *jut*: *duit* 297, 1121; *us* < *uis*: *us* < *usum* 1121. There are no cases in our poem of rimes of *ui* with *i* such as are to be found elsewhere, e.g. Gaimar *qui* (< *cogito*): *mid* 1645; *transit*: *quit* 5137; Adgar *qui*: *ami* 28. 143. Nor are there instances of *ui*: *oi* as *destruiz*: *croiz*, Adgar 30. 31. [St., p. 209.]

CONSONANTS.

§ 28. Liquids.

There is no rime in our poem to prove that *l* is vocalised; no *pout*: *volt* as e.g. *St Gilles* 3619; on the other hand there is nothing to prove the contrary. The same is true curiously enough for Adgar, *Haveloc*,

and *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne*, while the proof of vocalisation for Gaimar rests on the evidence of a single rime *enchascout*: *volt* 2003.

It is possible that the rime of ll. 601—2 discussed in § 4 is a case of the vocalisation of *l*. This absence of any decisive rime must be a matter of pure chance. Here as in many Agn. works *l* often remains in the orthography as in *al* 281, 518 and *del* 691; these forms are normal; our poem has also *aels* 205 (cf. § 25); *malgré* 96; *malvesté* 1324; *l* is inserted in *alme* 691, and by the scribe reduced to *u* in *espaumes* 891; *paume* 892; *voudrai* 642. It has disappeared after *u* in *ducure* 178. Sporadically in Agn. we find *a + u < l* reduced to *a*; instances in our text are *chevache* 601; *acune* 858; *sav(er)ast* 119¹. This is not a mere scribe's error as is proved by the English *save*. Other examples I have met are *savaciun* in *St Richard* 6 and *maveis* in *Modwenna* 17 d.

The *l* mouillée is represented by *-il* when final, e.g. *conseil*: *merveil* 265 and intervocalic by *-illi-* as *ailliurs* 6; *fillie* 130 etc., or by *-ili-* as *perilié* 972. There is no rime in our poem of *l* with *l* mouillée as is often the case in Agn., e.g. *soleil*: *feil* in *Bestiaire* 2233; *gopil*: *il* in Gaimar 281 etc.; *fedeil*: *conseil* in Adgar 28. 57; *Marsile* (= *Marseille*): *vile* in *St Gilles* 1035.

The metathesis of *r* seems only to occur in *pernum* 100, *pernent* 773, *pernunt* 1035. Anglo-Norman texts show great confusion with this consonant and spell the same word, now with *r* and now with *rr*, as e.g. *orez* 108, *orrez* 113. A number of cases of double letters are treated together in § 41.

The pronunciation of *r* in Agn. is very weak, so that *r* in combination with another consonant may be found in rimes with that consonant. Instances of this are found from the earliest times, thus: *Bestiaire*, *sage*: *large* 7; *cors*: *enclos* 291; Gaimar, *ancestre*: *geste* 827; for Adgar *certes*: *estes* is in the Gregory legend 1468.

In Agn. texts *r* and *l* are often found in rime as *Bestiaire*, *nature*: *nule* 103; Gaimar, *apostoile*: *Theodorie* 1387; Adgar, *cler*: *alter* 30. 95, while elsewhere he only uses the form *altel* (: *el* 2. 93); *St Gilles*, *apostoile*: *estoire* 561. No clear case of this exists in our poem as the rime *mariners*: *juvencels* 883 is best emended as in the footnote to the text.

[St., pp. 210—5.]

§ 29. Labials.

There is little to note about this group of consonants; *p* is inserted

¹ For this reading cf. § 53, 1, B.

in *Dampnedeu* (cf. § 19); *b* after *m* has disappeared in our text, e.g. *colum* 1040; *f* remains in the orthography before flexional *s*, as *cerfs* 558, *nefs* 868; *f* final remains in *tref* 275 and in the rimes *nef* : *tref* 945; *belif* : *restif* 949. For rimes of *-um*, *-umb-* see Walberg's edition of the *Bestiaire*, p. lvi. [St., pp. 219—20.]

§ 30. Nasals.

Final *n* and *m* are not separated in the rime; *non* < *nomen* : *gueredon* 7; : *compaignon* 419. This is, however, not very conclusive as a distinction is made in the *Comput*, where *un* and *um* are confused but not *n* and *m* preceded by other vowels. The distinction is perhaps only a chance one since in the *Bestiaire crestien* rimes with *l'em*, while Gaimar has *faim* : *demain* 325. Adgar would seem to treat these consonants as does Philippe in the *Comput* but Suchier—*Reimpredigt*, p. lii—attributes this to pure chance.

In the group *rn* as *ivern* 267, *n* disappears in the rime, e.g. *jur* : *blanchur* 597; *tur* : *dolur* 63. This change is noted from the earliest times; though in the *Comput* the rimes are not quite conclusive, in the *Bestiaire* we find *jur* : *honur* 249, in Gaimar *jur* : *seignur* 319 and in Adgar *jor* : *salveor* 3. 7. Satisfactory proof may often be lacking as is the case for *Sainte Marie* and the *Reimpredigt*. The change is early on the continent, Chrétien de Troyes has *retor* : *amor* in *Yvain* 6511. Before labials *n* > *m* as *emfler* 860; *empensé* 632; it seems to have disappeared from *wydas* = *windas* in *St Gilles* 803 etc. (cf. Chaucer, *windas*, see Skeat's Glossarial Index). *N* mouillée is written *-gni-* when medial as *seigniur* 651 or *n* as *remainne* 725; *ng* when final as *lung* 275 (for various spellings of *n* mouillée see Hildebrand in *ZfrPh.* viii 321). In compounds of *cum*, *n* frequently disappears before *v* as *cuvint* 426, *couveite* 445. [St., pp. 215—9.]

§ 31. Dentals *t*, *d*.

Dentals isolated between two vowels have disappeared as is shown by the following rimes: *mie* : *vie* 11, *vie* : *amie* 75, *amie* : *hunye* 441 etc. With final dentals matters are not quite so simple in Anglo-Norman. The isolated dental become final in French has been lost in our poem in

(a) substantival and verbal roots :

fei < *fidem* : *lei* < *legem* 423; *cri* : *ci* 1119; *crei* : *rei* 255. These often rime with themselves as *vei* < *vido* for *video* : *dei* < *ditum* = *digitum* (cf. Adgar 17. 949).

(b) terminations, *é* < *atum*; *i* < *itum* or palatal + *edem*; *u* < *utem*, *utum*:

Dé : *overé* 1367; *gey* : *di* (< *dico*), *merci* : *issi* 649; *veu* : *fu* 927. (Abstract substantives and the past participles often rime among themselves as in the ll. 21, 93, 95, 129, 143, 153 etc.)

(c) preterites in *i* < *ivit*:

entendi : *autresi* 1357; *fini* : *issi* 351; *nasqui* : *si* 187. (Preterites of this kind are also found in rime with past participles: as *servi* : *traï* 695 and also preterites, *servi* : *guerpi* 57.)

(d) preterites in *-a*, *-at* rime only with themselves or with a future:

alat : *enmenat* 411; *deliat* : *deliverat* 1407; *mustra* : *verra* 1423. This proves nothing however as other rimes in *a* are rare, practically only *la* and *ja*.

(e) strong preterites and other words with fixed *t* rime with themselves:

mist : *cunquist* 1439; *fist* : *dist* 1263; *vait* : *ait* 554; *ait* : *dit* 1589; *petit* : *lit* 495; *plait* : *mesfait* 111. In line 904 we find the form *plai* (cf. *plait* above), this is rare (see Godefroy) but certain Norman texts have it in rime with words without fixed *t*, as *plai* : *delai* in *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* 16252 (for other instances, see Walberg, *l.c.* p. 1x).

(f) There is an isolated case of *-st* riming with inchoative present:

ist < *exit* : *empourist* 691 (cf. Adgar, *nurist* : *dist* 17. 669 and § 59). *Esperit* appears normally in rime with fixed *t*, e.g. *respit* 463; in Adgar the word is in rime with *eslit* 6. 154 and with *delit* 6. 309.

This would prove that final *t* is lost. If the *t* is silent in the cases above mentioned, *a fortiori* will it be in *-et* < *-at*; although we may admit cases of hiatus yet the cases of elision are regular and prove that the *t* was entirely lost by the time our poet wrote.

When we compare this phenomenon with other Agn. texts we find:

Philippe de Thaun, *Comput*: one case of *t* riming with fixed *t* but in a line that is not well supported by MS. evidence; it may be a case of analogy.

Bestiaire: no cases.

Gaimar: some cases of preterites in *-i*, e.g. *partit* : *dit* 2514. These are best explained as analogical forms, but it should be noted that certain verbs in *-ir* show a tendency to join the weak class.

Adgar: no cases.

Sainte Marie: instances only with weak forms as (f) above.

The rime *païsant* : *manant* 18. may be compared with *tyrant*,

parchment, ancient. Wace, Ambroise and Gervaise and other continental writers admit these forms which are due to analogy with the ending of the present participle and words like *enfant*. [St., pp. 221—4.]

§§ 32, 33. *s, z.*

The distinction between *s* and *z* (Latin *t + s*) at the end of words is absolute¹. Rimes in *-is*, e.g. *quis : ris* 477; *mis : amis* 671; *assez : entendez* 113 etc. are all pure. There are only two apparent exceptions *respiz : envis* 459, *delez : pres* 323, but these are clearly mis-spellings; *envis* is for *enviz* (< *invitus*) : *marriz* in Benoit and with *pluriz* in *St Gilles* 3240 and *pres* is for *prez* (< *pratos*). There are one or two instances of confusion in the *Bestiaire* but Adgar², *St Gilles*, *Ste Marie*, *Le Donnei des Amanz* and *St Richard* are all alike in making the distinction.

The *s* before consonant is silent for our poet; this is proved by the following rime in *-est*, i.e. *fest* (= *fait*) : *plest* 197; other rimes are not quite satisfactory; *dist* (for the past participle) : *fist* 217 is not conclusive as it occurs in (B) and *dist : respit* 499 is probably a mistake for *dit*. Other rimes are the strong perfects in ll. 111, 1337, cf. § 31, while the rimes in *-est*, viz. *est : cest* 543; *est : prest* 571, prove nothing.

For the scribe the mutation of *s* is proved (i) by the omission of *s* as in *acemée* 171 and when final in *for* 774, 1003 (cf. *St Gilles* 914); (ii) by its insertion when not authorised by the orthography, e.g. *aturnast* 1099, *mestez* 436, *neste* 353 etc.; (iii) by the characteristic Agn. change of *s + l* to *dl* in *madles* 47, *entremedlé* preserved in English *meddle* < *medler* < *mesler*.

As to the spellings we find *s* or *ss* where we now write *c* in *purchased* 477, *issi* 483 and also *sc* for modern *ss* in *richesce* 167.

The outcome of *-itium* is *-ise* in our poem, e.g. *servise : guise* 1245, *: eglise* 1301. The former pair is also in the *Bestiaire* 2269. On the continent we have *servise : aprise* in the *Oligés* 1779 and with *esprise* in the *Énéas* 1269. [St., pp. 224—30.]

§ 34. *c = k.*

This sound is represented in our text by :

(a) *k* in *kar* 110 etc., *illokes* 875.

(b) *qu* in *quor*.

(c) *c* in *iluec* 617, *iluc* 1008.

[St., p. 231.]

¹ The rime *sžus* (cf. § 43 iv (b)) : *vžus* 561 is a poetic licence; the word *sžus* is rare; I have only found it once in rime in Agn., viz. Simund de Freine : *seüs : fus* (*St Georges* 1044).

² In the Gregory legend we find : *enfes : enpensez* 1576, while Gaimar has *purpens : denz* 181—2; *feiz : reis* 923 and some dozen further cases of confusion.

§ 35. *qu*.

The spellings *k* and *qu* are found indifferently: thus we have *ky* 101, *kant* 108, *unkes* 191 (but not *unques*) and *qui* 1178, *que* 406, *quant* 99, *quunque* 164. [St., p. 234.]

§ 36. *c* [ts].

This sound coming from *c* followed by *e* or *i* or from *cj* or *tj* preceded by consonants other than *s* is retained here, as in *ciel* 8, *commence* etc. The neuter pronoun is *ce*, *ceo* (cf. § 50). The spelling *-sc-* is met here as elsewhere (e.g. Gaimar, Adgar, Simund de Freine etc.) as in *manascr* 703. [St., p. 233.]

§ 37. *ch* [tʃ].

This sound comes regularly from *c + a* or *pj*; the first of these sources is represented by *chant* 306; *chef* 64; *chemin* 1261 and—with the spelling *sc*—by *seneschal* 1469, *meschines* 800; and the second by *sachez* (cf. § 54). Certain words occur in Northern French forms: *desaka* 289; *saké* 932; *secke* 353. As is common in Agn. the present subjunctive of *saveir* is *sace* (cf. § 55 III). [St., pp. 235—6.]

§ 38. *g* [g].

The *gu* coming from Germanic *w* is written *g* or *gu* before *a* and *gu* before *e* or *i*: *gages* (=vague=wave) 861, also *Énéas* 246; *garder* 1688; *garrir* 1090; *garisun* 1234; *guerpist* 7. Original *cr > gr* here as elsewhere, *graventa* 292; *granter* 1214. [St., p. 236.]

§ 39. *g* [dʒ].

We find both *g* and *j*; the former generally before *e* and *i* as *gesir* 299, *geta* 1241 but only *jekes* 191, and medially, *targié* 576; *j* is preferred before *o* and *u* as *joïr* 199, *jur* 301 but *gal* (for *jal*) 306. [St., p. 237.]

§ 40. *h*.

Aspirated *h* is retained in *haschie* 1222, *hernaschant* 913, *hors* 561, *huchent* 540, *hurte* 600, and *h* appears in certain words when it should be absent: *herbe* 192, *houre* 861, *hui* 334; we have *abit* 654 and *oure* often. [St., p. 239.]

§ 41. Double letters.

Anglo-Norman scribes are especially fond of double letters, our text presents the following:

ll *apellé* 128, 636.

rr *dirrai* 376, 986 etc.; *querrez* 67; *guarriz* 1175; *irra* 250; *verrai* 1286.

dd redde 587.

cc succurs 294.

ss essample 100.

[St., p. 239.]

§ 42. The article.

The nom. sing. form *li* is very common and is retained even when the noun has lost its distinctive nominative form, e.g. *li tierz jur* 330; *li pautener* 1356; it is also found with elided *i* before nouns beginning with a vowel as *l'em* 94. In the pl. masc. *li* is also very common but the *i* of this form for no clear reason is not elided before a vowel¹. For the article in combination with *a* and *de* cf. § 28.

A few remarks may be made on the syntax of the article:

1. Nouns are frequently found without the article, when the noun has a general sense as *a rei* 426; *apres saluz* 326, cf. too ll. 836, 876, 1303, 1309, 1330, 1432; and after certain verbs, e.g. *hurte chival* 600².

2. With parts of the body, side by side with the use of the possessive adjective, e.g. 667, 670, 817, 818, 825, 925 etc., we find as *piez lur chiet* 1361; *les piez li ad desseelez* 1409.

3. As a demonstrative³:

Seinte Osith fu le jor alée 797 = that day.

A l'aube del jur la matinée 269 = that morning.

The use of *le jur* seems fairly common in Old French as: *Cel jor i fu Looïs alevé, E la corone mise desus l'altel; Li reis ses pere li ot le jor doné. Cour. de Louis* 45—7. His father had given it (sc. the crown) to him that day. Further in Agn. Gaimar: *Franceis, Engleis le jor perirent* 5418; *St Gilles* has several instances: *Male garde firent le jur, Quant il perdirent lur seigneur* 3661—2 and also ll. 719, 2640, 2797; *Haveloc: Malement lur avint le jor* 110. The persistence of the demonstrative force in modern French as shown by the phrases *de la façon* (e.g. *Est-ce de la façon que vous voulez l'entendre*, Molière, *École des Femmes*, iv 4), *de la sorte, pour le coup, à l'instant*, etc. has been pointed out by Tobler, *Ver. Bei.* ii p. 44.

¹ Cf. Rydberg, *Zur Geschichte des französischen o*, p. 420 seq.

² Cf. Fredenhagen, *Über den Gebrauch des Artikels*, Halle 1906, p. 48.

³ Brunot, *Grammaire historique* i, p. 232, remarks that the primitive nature of the article continued to be felt in the sense that it could take the place of the demonstrative and quotes: *Ço dist li reis: 'Al Jesu e al mien!'* = for that (sc. the honour) of Jesus and my own (*Roland* 339; cf. too 3145 *ibid.*).

DECLENSION.

§ 43. Nouns.

We shall consider first of all the masculine nouns and shall place in a first paragraph (i) correct forms assured by the rime; in a second (ii) such forms as are rendered certain by the scansion or are correct in orthography; in a third (iii) those which may be easily altered without any detriment to rime or scansion; and in a fourth (iv) such as are proved incorrect by rime or scansion.

i. (a) Nom. sing. *guez* (: *passez*) 603; *sire* (: *desire*) 445; *li reis* (: *meis*) 625, (: *Engleis*) 131, 140.

(b) Acc. sing. *barun* (: *non*) 743; *seigniur* (: *creatur*) 4.

(c) Nom. pl. *ordiné* (: *entré*) 1251; *pasturel* (: *mantel*) 332; also *païsant* 185, *seigniur* 1269, *sergant* 1549, *parent* 379, *barun* 582.

(d) Acc. pl. *chiviaus* (: *beaus*) 26; also *ordenez* 659, *sëus* 562 etc.

ii. (a) Nom. sing. *li cerfs* 558, 581, 584; *li fous* 1342; *li paens* 140; *li pauteners* 1399; *li seneschals* 1399, 1551; *li sacrestains* 1110; *hom* 181, 586, 717, 1130 etc.; *li reis* 61, 444, 475 etc.; *li marbre* 912; *li gages* 1634.

(b) Acc. sing. *le cerf* 580; *creatur* 3; *mund* 15; *ivern* 267; *faucon* 1040; *barun* 483; *conte* 743; *sanc* 142; *home* 180, 1558 etc. etc.

(c) Nom. pl. *li chanoine* 1198, 1269 (final *e* elided); *li chien* 567 etc.; *li brachet* 565; *li paen* 802; *li seigniur* 1293.

(d) Acc. pl. *chivalers* 395, 489; *seinz* 38; *enfanz* 141 etc.

iii. Add sign of nom. sing. to *fet* and *defet* 707—8, change *les chanoines* to *li chanoine* 1483; omit *s* of *compaignons* and in line 962 change *ses nons* to *sun non*; the change seems authorised by the fact that the adjective is in the nom. pl.

iv. (a) Acc. for nom. *peil* (: *veil*) 689; *vent* (: *-ment*) 1038; *compaignon* (: *non*) 420. There is some excuse for this violation of the rule for *peil*; the ending *-eil* is rare in Old French and has been

replaced except in *peil* > *poil* while *veil* has early disappeared (it is retained in English). Other words *feeils* < *fidelis*, *chameils* < *camelus* have undergone suffix change, cf. Suchier § 65.

(b) Acc. pl. for nom. *peres* : *meres* 23.

We may add a few indeclinable nouns: *sëus* (< *segusius*) 248; *mes* 318; *sens* 248; *cors* 348.

It may be said then that the author is surprisingly accurate in his use of the Old French declension. There are of course numbers of words which might be corrected and to which no reference has been made, they may well be attributed to the scribe; such are *colum[s]* 1040; *li seneschal[s]* 1611; *li cerf[s]* 588 etc. etc. It does not seem plain whether *finement* (: *prent*) 37 is an infraction or not, there is no other instance of a Latin neuter in *-ment* in our text. The forms *ancestres* 22, *prestres* 417¹ as well as *compaignnon* 420 can hardly be considered as incorrect for Agn., the first and the last appear with the single form for both cases already in the Oxford MS. of the *Roland*. There is only one instance (l. 1377) of an infinitive used as a noun in the nominative case in rime and it is without *s*, the same archaism is found in the *Comput* 985, 2791; the scribe has added an *s* in l. 942; for other cases see ll. 413, 618, 715, 1192.

There is little to remark about proper names; none appear in the nominative case in rime except *Editz* (: *diz*) 233. This is one of those poetic licences with names so common in Gaimar. For nouns of the Latin third and fifth declensions it seems impossible to say whether they take an *s* or not. There is little to be said of feminine nouns. In Old French there are few feminine nouns belonging to the class with varying stress. From *sóror*, *sorórem* we have nom. *suer*, acc. *serour*, pl. *serours*, but owing to the frequent use of the form *suer* as a nominative of address, *serour* is early lost and a new pl. *suers* even formed. As early as the *Roland suer* (l. 294) in the accusative is found in an *ué* assonanced tirade. Further *serour* is found as a nominative and even with an added *s*. Similarly are treated words denoting persons having a nom. in *-e* and an acc. in *-ain* as *none*, *nonain*. Our text seems to offer instances of these changes. Thus in l. 223 the rime with *amur* seems to indicate that the form *seur* should be changed to *serur*; it would have the further advantage of correcting the scansion; while in l. 242 the form *serur* is assured by the rime with *ducur* and *ele* may very properly count as one syllable only; cf. § 5 ii (β). The form *serur*

¹ Another reading is suggested in § 44 A iii. In Adgar we find *proveire* as nom. (: *aneire*) 10. 36 and as acc. 13. 56.

seems particularly suitable as it is a later form and these lines are in (B). In ll. 1095, 1217, 1229 *suer* (notice the older spelling) is correct, while in l. 1220 the adoption of the form *seror* would enable one to alter the incorrect *porte* (cf. § 55 i) and would bring the accented final syllable *serúr* into what we may assume was its position intended by the poet, viz. the fourth syllable. In l. 371 we have *nonain* as nominative. In our text the oblique case can still be used in a limited sense for the genitive, particularly in such stock expressions as *la Deu ancele* 49, 635; *les seinz Deu* 38; *Deu enemis* 963; *pur Deu amur* 40, 660; also before proper names as *le jur Seint Michel* 1105; and when the genitive expresses a person, *les plaiz l'evesque* 1458, 1470.

There is little to remark as to gender. *Honur* would seem to be feminine but the evidence of the adjective *trespassable* (: *estable*) 17 is unconvincing. *Fiertre* appears both as masculine and feminine 1491, 1495; in the only other case that I have met it in Agn. (*St Richard* 1639) it is masculine; by analogy probably with *chásse* it became and remains feminine.

§ 44. Adjectives.

The adjectives may be treated in the same way as the nouns and divided into (i) such forms of adjectives and past participles as are correct judged by rime and scansion; (ii) such as may be considered correct from scansion and orthography; (iii) such as may be corrected without detriment to scansion or rime; and (iv) such as are proved incorrect by rime or scansion.

A. Masculines.

i. (a) Nom. sing. *-ez* < *-atus*, *iz* < *-itus*, *-uz* < *-utus* are assured by the following rimes: *aprestez* (: *entendez*) 29; *passiez* (: *guez*) 604; *evaniz* (: *partiz*) 622; *restuz* (: *venuz*) 615; and also in the following: 493, 720, 912, 987, 1351, 1352, 1403, 1404, 1553, 1554, 1621, 1649, 1650.

(b) The nom. pl. without flexional *s* is assured by the following rimes: *alé* (: *trespassé*) 31; *lé* (: *mangé*) 491; *avenu* (: *vertu*) 82; *grant* (: *siwant*) 567; *seur* (: *jur*) 864; also the ll. 115, 207, 607, 623, 769, 792, 885, 888, 939, 941, 954, 1010, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1050, 1057, 1083, 1084, 1236, 1340, 1381, 1382, 1484.

ii. (a) Nom. sing. *fols* 20; *bons* 37; *gariz* 1635.

(b) Nom. pl. *luintain* 187; *lé* 379; *venu* 767; also 956, 1168, 1257, 1484, 1512.

iii. The following could easily be corrected:

bon 2; *fort* 61, 279; *amé* 13; *aint* 138; *lung* 275; *blanc* 558;

venu 548, 584; *conissant* 970; *contenu* 1371; *sein* 1534: the lines 417—8 might be emended *Proveire esteient ordiné, E seint evesque puis sacré*.

iv. The following are incorrect according to rime or scansion:

Nom. sing. *puissant* (: *refusant*) 61, 673; *fort* (: *port*) 609; *restif* (: *belif*) 950; and also 100, 963, 983, 1346, 1546 and in (B) *parfund* (: *punt*) 277; *bruiant* (: *despant*) 279.

After a neuter subject, whether expressed or not, the attributive adjective is normally neuter, i.e. without flexional *s*, in Old French, but the feeling for the neuter is too vague for this to be an invariable rule; the masculine is often found (cf. Brunot, *Grammaire historique*, I, p. 223 C). The neuter seems to be preferred in Agn., e.g. *Bestiaire: E cuvenable esteit* 71 etc.; Gaimar: *...pur ço est dit* (: *murdrit*) 4053; *ço est dreit* (: *esteit*) 5112 etc.; Adgar: *ceo n'est dreit* (: *toleit*) 8. 133; *St Gilles: il es dreit* 2091. The examples for our text are in lines 58, 851 (cf. § 59), 1369.

B. Feminines.

Taking the feminine adjectives and participles in the same order there are few infractions of the ordinary rules of declension.

i. The adjectives in *-abilis* are correctly *trespassable: estable* 17; *grant* (: *tant*) 536; : *aparissant* 819; other lines showing correct forms are: 69, 73, 127, 170, 362, 363, 367, 368, 387, 421, 439, 443, 462, 797, 810, 826, 1117, 1167, 1215, 1262, 1375, 1389, 1411, 1651.

ii. The existence of forms as *grant* is assured by scansion in ll. 138, 806, 1063 and *lasse* by ll. 1166, 1224.

iii. Changes could be made without detriment to the text in: *granz* 16, *mené* 377; also in ll. 464—5, 651, 829, 1106, 1167.

iv. Except for *tele* (already common in the twelfth century) all the infractions are found in (B), e.g. *repaire* 231; *remansu* 268; *irascu* 312.

§ 45. Agreement of the past participle.

The rule for the agreement of the past participle when the object precedes is observed in the following cases assured by the rime: 444, 481, 678, 809, 1118, 1201, 1202, 1222 and with the object following in line 421. (This may be *because* of the rime.)

The rule is broken in the following cases in rime: 148, 688, 1513, 1514, 1516 and in (B) 285, 288. Lines 200 *apris[e]* and 719 *fet[e]* could be so emended.

The non-observance is sometimes convenient especially in (B) and (A) as rimes otherwise impossible are thereby secured, e.g. 1513—4. This is common in thirteenth century Agn. poems, cf. *St Richard* § 50.

§ 46. The past participle with reflexive verbs.

Only one case of agreement of the participle with the subject in the masculine seems to occur in rime: *s'est partiz* 621; but there are a large number of feminines, e.g. 269, 302, 409, 440, 709, 829, 1133, 1136, 1258. There are other cases correct in the interior of the line, e.g. 617, while many others could be emended by the simple addition of [z]; e.g. 496, 570, 978, 1359; one case only of non-agreement seems assured by the rime, viz. 1325.

§ 47. Adjective.

A. Possessive (possessive pronouns are also included).

The ordinary weak forms are all found and the following alone are noteworthy: *si* (nom. pl.) 1529; *le men* 982; *le mien* 437; *la sue* 505; *un lur* 1321; *les seens* 1542.

B. Demonstrative and indefinite.

Our text has nom. sing. *cil* 140, 512 and *cist* 1441 side by side with *icest* 1160 and *cest* 1090. The correct forms are doubtless those of the poet but none of them appear in rime. *Cist* is found in line 582 as nom. pl.; the acc. pl. is *ces*; we may notice also *cil autre* as nom. pl. 930; *itel* and *tel* as feminines 928, 1024, and the use of the definite article with these adjectives as *des ces* 763. For the indefinite we note *aukes de...* 231, 448 etc.

§ 48. Pronouns—personal and reflexive.

The strong-accented forms of the personal pronoun are found:

i. After prepositions: *par mei* 244; *pur li* (masc.) 58; *a ly* 497; *a li* (fem.) 244; *pur lui* (fem.) 196; *ou li* (fem.) in rime with *ci* 806; also ll. 670, 1165, 997, 149.

ii. Before an infinitive: *sei fere* 965, also 530, 534, 641, 1168; further after an infinitive: *pur prendre sei* 721.

iii. After an indicative: *purpense sei* 721; also the weak form: *e travaillent se* which should perhaps be emended to *sei* 1193. (Cf. *Bestiaire*: *Deus la furmat e concut lui* 3105.)

iv. After a past part. and before a finite: *E estrussé li ad...* 1111.

v. As a disjunctive: *li = elle*, cf. ll. 282, 361, 636, 800.

vi. With reflexive verbs instead of *sei* as *de li mover* 1070.

It is doubtful whether this form may be used before a finite verb. The Agn. MS. of *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne* 991 has *e li turna vers Orient* but this may be an incorrect reading, although it turns accurately the Latin: *ad Orientem conversa*; the continental versions have *ele garda* or *esgarda*.

The pronoun *ele* has often the syllabic value of *el'*, e.g. 312, 319, 1246 and is sometimes so written, but oftener not.

All the weak forms are found, *li* seems to be the usual form for both masculine and feminine; *lui* only appears once, line 196. The pronoun *en* appears in its modern use in line 387 and also in its Old French sense of 'in the matter,' e.g. 714, 998. In line 272 *u* = *à laquelle* and in line 694 *i* = *li* (cf. Brunot, *Grammaire historique*, I, p. 226, *Bestiaire*: *Quant diable at tempté Saint ume e espruvé Ne mal n'i pot truver*, 1167—9 Jordan Fautosme: *Fors la cité de Lundres, u nul ne set sa per*, *Chronique* 912 and *Modwenna*: *A tele vus cumanderai, U jeo tres bien m'afierai* 527—8). The *i* of *li* is elided in line 286 (B), cf. *St Richard* § 52.

The syntax of the pronoun in our poem is no longer that of the oldest texts; whereas any of the pronouns may be omitted as subjects, all may be used. There is probably a slight difference, thus in ll. 1143, 1145, 1146 there is some stress implied by the sense which is quite absent in ll. 1147, 1149, 1150. Instances of omission are very numerous, e.g. ll. 660, 757—60, 917, 1004, 1100, 1141, 1175; instances of use 661—2, 968, 1327 etc. There is a good instance of a strong use of *il* in line 686 and of *il* as disjunctive in 493.

There are two cases which may be discussed separately. In ll. 698 and 1108 we find the weak forms of the pronoun used after an infinitive and the infinitives are complemental depending on a preposition. The common usage here is to employ the strong form which should precede the infinitive. In the first of these two cases the pronoun is perhaps spurious, the line has a syllable too many and that in a portion of the poem where the scansion is on the whole accurate; it may have been introduced from the following line; further the MS. has a sign ? which is employed elsewhere to indicate a pause in the sense, e.g. l. 752 after *servir*. We propose to emend by omitting the *la*. In the second case the position may be due to the desire of the poet to avoid hiatus of the final *e* of *faire* with initial *i* of *iluec*. To explain the use of the weak form the poet may have had in mind another construction, viz. the use of the weak form with a finite verb having an infinitive complement; this form would, and generally did even till the seventeenth century, precede the finite verb but it might immediately precede the infinitive; thus in the *Bestiaire* in two consecutive lines we have an example of each construction: *Nel volent esculter, Volent le desturber* 1715—6.

The use of the pronoun after the infinitive is a peculiarity of N.W. texts. According to Rydberg, *o.c.* pp. 587—95, it is confined to those

districts that to-day form the départements of Eure, Seine inférieure, Calvados, Manche and Seine et Oise, i.e. nearly all Normandy and a part of Ile de France. It is natural therefore to find cases in Anglo-French works. Rydberg quotes a large number of instances but in most of these the strong form of the pronoun is preferred.

The use of the weak form of the pronoun after a finite verb seems to be rare; I can only find in my notes two instances, viz. *Tristan* of Bérout *laidissent la* 775; and *Roman de Troie: Honora les de grant maniere*, 1204.

§ 48 a. The pronoun with reflexive verbs.

Whereas in Old French the number of reflexive verbs was greatly increased by the inclusion of verbs that were intransitive in Latin, there was a tendency to omit the reflexive pronoun and to render the verb intransitive; this was specially the case with the present participle and the infinitive. Numerous examples are quoted by Brunot, *op. cit.* p. 237; our text offers examples in ll. 939, 1425—7. The verb which seems to have most easily dispensed with the pronoun is *se lever*; our poem offers the following instances: *Bien leva devant* (corr. *ainz*?) *le chant de gal* 306; *Et par matin est tost levé* 1359; *E cele est par matin levée* 1411. Examples are very numerous; thus: *Bestiaire: Kar se culchiez esteit* (the elephant) *Par sei ne leveroit* 1545—6. Examples do not seem very plentiful in Gaimar¹ or Adgar² but *St Gilles* contains many, e.g. *Par la cité leve le cri* 753; *le soleil leve* 916, also 2739, 1379, but *Il s'en levat* 622. *Sainte Marie* has similar cases and so too *Marie de France: Li chevaliers cuntre els leva* (*Guigemar* 769 and *ibidem* 673, 869 and *Deuz Amanz* 214), also *Haveloc* 708 *Le cri lieve en la cité; ibid.* 903 *Haveloc est levé en piez*. In the *Roland* we find *Isnelement sur lor piez releverent* 3575 and *Crestien de Troyes, Erec: Quant a lor eise orent sopé Et des tables furent levé...* 501—2. There is a full discussion of this phenomenon as far as the seventeenth century is concerned in §§ 60—61 of Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*.

§ 49. Pronouns—relative and interrogative.

The scribe prefers the spellings with initial *k*; we have many instances of *ki* or *ky*, e.g. 2, 39, 101 etc. but very frequently *ke* stands for the nominative; this form must often be due to the poet since this

¹ I remember no case with *lever* but we find *Quand il turnad de la cuntree* (cf. ll. 3675, 4013), compare with *Cil s'en turnad* 4513 (cf. 4237).

² I can only recall *Establi a sei itel us Que chaune nuit leva sus, Si ala puis en cel mustier* 18. 31—3.

e is elided with the following vowel, e.g. 1317, 1375 (not elided 1092); *ki* may stand for older *cui* 112, 830. The poet uses the relative *que* in the feminine 805 but this may be only a spelling and of no importance. The neuter is *ke* 1141 and also *kei* 312, 319. Note too *ceo que* 406 referring to a phrase.

§ 50. Pronoun—demonstrative.

The forms are fairly correct: nom. sing. *cil* 9, 12, 453, 1171; incorrect *cel* 237 (B); nom. pl. *cil* 1043, 1047, 1123, 1455; acc. pl. *ceus* 21; fem. *cele* 1177. The poet is fond of the longer form *icest* which is twice in rime 544, 730. We have also *cesti* as acc. 626 and *ceo* is common; for the compound demonstrative we have *ly qui* 569.

§ 51. Pronoun—indefinite.

The following forms occur: *l'em* 94, 164; *l'en* 372; *l'un* 955 but regularly (cf. § 42) *li un...li autre* 542; *les autres* 919; *chescun* (never with *s*) 926 etc., with verb in pl. 1028; *aucun* 1173; *plusurs* 187 as nom. pl. in (B) but not assured; for Latin *totus* the forms vary but the nom. pl. *tuit* is in rime with *bruit* 999; *amdeuz* and *amedeuz* occur in (B) 288, 341; *tele* 55 assured by scansion; *mult de* 1299 and *aukes de* are common.

§ 52. Adverbs.

The adverbs are well represented in our text: *petit* 165 together with *poi* 18; *aval* and *amunt* 869; *sus e jus* 624; *guerres* 67 and *gueres* in the sense of nothing 680; *leus* 323 (a form also found in the Corpus MS. of *Sainte Marie*); *meuz* (= plutôt) 1365; *a plein* (cf. § 14) and the Agn. form *sovente feiz* (cf. § 59). As adverbial complement we may note *mot ne sona* 903. An interesting word is *enteins* (cf. § 59). The adverbs in *-ment* are mostly in the older and correct forms as: *comunement* 804; *cruelment* 796, 807, 986; *delivrement* 556; *erranment* 986; *estrussement* 499 (this adverb is derived from *estrossé* and should therefore be *estrossément*, such seems to be the form in *Erec* 5592); *forment* 507; *leaument* (not *lelment* as often in Agn.) 835. *Dreit* and *tut dreit* are found but not abusively as is often the case in Agn. (cf. *St Richard* § 57); *tut* and *trestut* are common 558, 658, 606 and so too are *a tut* 780 and *del tut* 829, 864. Note too *aukes* 887.

§ 53. Conjunction.

The question of the conjunction in our poem is almost exclusively the syntax of *que* as few compound conjunctions are to be found in it;

si is still used though sparingly for *et*, e.g. 119¹, 527 and also *ne* 168 but *si* is already for *if* at least for the scribe. The syntax of *que* is one of the most interesting chapters of Old French grammar²; we shall endeavour to sum it up as concisely as possible, adding too the examples where no *que* appears.

I. With verbs denoting intellectual activity.

i. knowing, believing.

A. With the indicative in the dependent clause.

Sachez ke la pucele...esteit bele 169; cf. 1663.

Purpensa sey...ke rien ne valut sa dolor 721; cf. 895, 897.

With infinitive: *Cuida son livre aver. receu* 287 (B).

No *que*: *Tres bien savez, Vers Dampnedeu mespris avez* 1561.

Quide (ke) deable l'en a traï 696.

B. With the subjunctive.

Sin crei...ke seinte Osith gré le sauvast 119—20 (cf. § 59).

Lors ke neée fust suscherent 239.

Ke conisant seit...ke...ne seum...perilié 970—2.

ii. perceiving.

A. *Quant la dame entent Ke ne volent faire nient* 663—4, also 1279.

Quant cil veient ke n'ad mestier 951, also 723, 1602.

Bien...ad aparceu K'ele fu dolente 311.

No *que*: *Kant veit ne puet estre muée* 723, also 1588.

B. *Entendez...ke en puissez aver aïe* 123.

S'il veit ke el estre ne peust 727.

iii. declaring.

A. *Dirrez (ke) granz biens i puet trover* 245, also 250, 304, 631, 1418.

E...voé unt Ke chescun ferunt porter 1027.

Il resona ke a lui se vout... 468, also 469.

No *que*: *Bien l'os dire, fols est pur veir* 20, also 499—500, 515, 703, 707.

Ceo signe (ke) de joie volent trere 1496.

B. *Ke dunc fust nonein ne di pas* 371.

Unk cele nef ne fist samblant k'en ewe fust... 921.

iv. Impersonal verbs.

A. *Un jour aveneit...que Modwen aleit* 825.

¹ 119. In this line the *si en* of the MS. is to be read *sin*.

² We shall follow throughout the able statement of its importance as contained in Mr Ritchie's *Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction 'que' dans l'ancien français*, Paris 1907.

Acune feiz *avint*...ke grant tempeste *out*...859.

Ke *deit* ke nostre nef ne *vait*? 934, cf. § 59.

B. When the principal clause is negative or hypothetical the mood is the subjunctive; there are no cases of this in our text.

II. With verbs denoting emotion.

A. Old and Middle French prefer the indicative mood and we find: Molt *se merveille* que ge *puis* tant targier (*Cour. de Louis* 1108) and Je *regrette* de tout mon cueur que *n'est* icy Picrochole (Rabelais). Anglo-Norman, however, seems to prefer the subjunctive though some instances of the indicative are to be found, e.g. *C'est merveille* ke jo m'en *tais* (*St Gilles* 116), also *ibidem* 245, 2877 and *Ce peise* mei ke jo *sui* vive (*Ste Marie* 414). Our text offers no instances of the indicative.

B. Edith *s'est émerveillée* Ke *fëist* Osith tant targer 302.

Li chanoine *s'en vunt plaindre* a Deu...Ke *seit* eus vengant 1483.

Pur *estre grevé* Ke de havene *seient* jeté 939.

N'estut doter Quel jur *deive* del siecle aler 35.

III. With verbs denoting volition.

i. will, command, prayer, obligation.

A. The only case of the indicative is one in which no *que* occurs.

Tant *a requis*...Le dreit chemin li *unt* mustre 1188.

B. Jeo *voil* ke le veil me *donez* 645.

A seinte Osith *a graanté* Ke *remainne* tut autresi 723, also 1294.

Suffrir ne vout K'ele *seit* al mustier 1112, also 1505.

Deu *a purvueu* issi Ke *guerisun eies* 1153.

Comadent...K'il *augent* tut a avirons 935.

Covient...Deu *prier* K'il nus *pardoint* icel pechié 1008.

Covent ke jeo *meste* mun don 736.

So also with *demander* 1184; *orer* 120; *crier* 1127, 1232; *reclamer* 584; *requerre* 176, 403, 659, 1143, 1296, 1386, 1620; *conseillier* 208 and less usual phrases as *crier merci ke*...471; *mettre en preres ke* 341—4; *prendre penitance ke*...966; *estre en aie ke*...1685.

No *que*: Deu *unt requis*...Mes ne *seient* en tel baillie 1024, also 403—7.

ii. preventing, forbidding.

1. Requert Deu li *purgart*...ke ne *perde* 407.

2. *Metrai mon poer*, Ke ne *seie*...hunie 437.

3. A seinte Osith ne *puet* hom *mesfaire* K'ele n'enprende 1571.

4. Comanda aler...pur *veer* Ke a Chic [ne] *deusent* poseer 1453.

The use of *ne* seems absolute and as it occurs in exs. 1, 2, 3 I add it in 4 also.

The indicative is sometimes found when a resolution is expressed: Puis ceste hure *mettrai*... *Tute ma force*... ke mes travail n'avrez ll. 531—3.

IV. The co-relative.

The use of the co-relative is not frequent in our text; *ço* is by far the commonest: *Ceo* demander serreit folie 322; Mes tut seez *de ceo* seur ke...1664, or adverbial expressions as *L'alme del cors pur poi* n'en ist 691.

V. *Que* consecutive: *que* = *si bien que*.

A. Et par les gerrons...*prist* Son mantel ke le livre *obli* 282—4.
Et *travaillient* sei...ke *venu i sunt* 1193
and with the expressions *si ke*, *si cum*, *tel ke*, *tant ke*...

La contraite...plure *si ke* noiant *esteit* escuter 1242.

Ele prend *tel* vengement *ke*...bien *parra*...1573.

Tant veit *k'al* muster *est* venue 810, also 1213, 1224, 1326.

No *que*: Seinte Osith l'a *si* forment mis...Ne *puet*...plus estre ostenz 1347—51.

If the result is positive, the verb is in the indicative.

VI. *Que* final. (The verb is always in the subjunctive.)

Modwen a Edith Osith *enveia* Ke bien la *preist*...227.

Le liu Nonnepol *est apellé* Ke ja mes en siecle ne *seit* celé 370, also 363.

The so-called optative use can be included here; with and without *que*.

Amis *ke* Deu vus *doint* sauveté 327.

Seinte Osith nus *seit* en aïe...1685.

Deu *penst* de mei par sa merci 666.

VII. *Que* causal.

i. *que* = weakened *car*.

Ke Deu ama e Deu servi 57. This use is uncommon in our text and in the example here quoted Ke might conceivably = *qui*.

ii. *que* = *puisque*.

Only in the phrase *quant est issi* where *quant* replaces *que* 665, 729, cf. § 59.

iii. *que* with interjections (the ordinary tense is the pres. indic.).

Allas, ke il ne *set* icest 544.

Ha Deus ke Edith ne *seust* l'aventure. (This is possibly corrupt and should read: *Deus*! k'Edith ne *set*...but the subjunctive might stand though it is very rare¹, for the scansion in that case see § 5 ii (ζ).)

¹ Mr Ritchie *l.c.* p. 74 quotes only two cases of the past subjunctive and very few of the past indicative.

VIII. *Que* temporal.

i. With expressions of time (*que* is here often replaced by *quant*).

En icel tens ke cil veneient 1459.

Le jur ke seinte Osith alat, Kant li reys...l'enmenat 411—2.

Meïsme l'heure k'est venuz 1623.

E gueres plus ne demora, K'il autre feiz la resona 468.

Seinte Osith a ceste heure en pris Ke sur son chief...677.

L'ure quant sunt li chien passé 607.

ii. With compound conjunctions expressing:

(α) simultaneous action:

Dementers k'en ceste vie fu 195.

A ceo k'esteient haut chantant 1199 (cf. § 59).

(β) posterior action:

A ceo ke il ad parlé ci 1591 (cf. § 59).

A peine out Modwen sa voiz fini Ke de l'ewe Osith ne issi 351.

(For a discussion of this phrase, see § 59.)

Dekes a Deu s'est si rendue 709.

No que: Hui est le quart jur trespasant, Puis n'en oi mes...317.

(γ) anterior action:

De ci ke vint al vendredi 1540.

Si cum (= aussitôt) Edith aveit veu 309.

IX. *Que* comparative.

Bons fu ki...aime son creatur Plus ke ne fet autri 4.

Kant sa dolur a fet assez Ke tut put estre alessez 719—20.

Mes plus semblant ne fist la nef Ke maison fet le cuchetref 945¹.

Si l'aturne a meuz ke poeit 1099, also 1131.

Meux le vus voil dire...K'autre le vus die²...1365.

X. *Que* concessive.

As above with temporal clauses *quant* competes with *que*, so in causal, final and concessive clauses *cume* or *cum* is often found; this is the case in the only example in our text:

Ne sai cument...Fors cum Deu le vout...1049.

It would seem here, however, that *cum* or *que* should be omitted, cf. § 70.

¹ Cf. § 59.

² Note that this *que* stands for *que que*, English *than that*. This use was retained in Old French long after it had become impossible to omit *que*. Grammarians suggest that this should be avoided by using *que si* as: *Il vaut mieux que l'innocent périsse que si toute la nation allait se révolter contre César (Massillon)*. What I believe to be the oldest instance of this is in the continental version of *Sainte Marie*: *Por ce est il plus avenant Que tu le doinses or a moi Que se je le donasse a toi*, cf. Ritchie o.c. p. 93.

§ 54. The conjunction, contd.

The value of the conjunction for determining the date of a literary work has been suitably foreshadowed by Mr Ritchie in the work mentioned in the foregoing section. The matter is bound to receive henceforth the closest attention of philologists. It is an additional test to be applied¹. Unfortunately linguistic tests applied to French works produced in England are always somewhat unsatisfactory, since they may be at once more archaic and more modern than continental French works of like date. We remarked in § 17 that some knowledge of an author's upbringing is necessary and this often has to be arrived at by long and not always incontrovertible methods. Thus the *Vie de saint Gilles*, judged from the linguistic point of view, is perhaps as old as 1150 while certain matters of fact referred to in it place it certainly some quarter of a century later. Applying the test of the conjunction to our poem, we find that no violation of twelfth century syntax occurs in the main body of the work; it is only in (B) that we find a *peine... que* which, as is stated in § 59, I have not met with outside fourteenth century texts.

§ 55. Conjugation.

I. Persons:

The first person singular takes neither *e* nor *s* when these are not authorised by the etymology as is proved by the following rimes or scansion: *comant* (: *puissant*) 674; *cri* (: *ici*) 640, 1119; *jur* (: *seur*) 863, also *aim* 1287; *os* 20; *vei* (: *dei*, cf. § 31) 1602; *crei* (: *rei*) 253; *di* (: *oï*) 1657, (: *si*) 1636; *rent* (: *finablement*) 1292, also *promet* 527; *quer* 1122; *enquer* 994. The form *porte* 1220 is probably due to the scribe and the line should be emended as suggested in § 43; yet forms with *e* occur as early as *Brandun* (circ. 1120—5) while *doins* 737 is already in the *Roland* and the *Couronnement de Louis*.

The first plural ending is only once written *-ums* 961, otherwise it is *-um* but of course *sumes* 956; the ending *-um* is many times in the rime but always with itself, e.g. 1005, 1435 etc., 337 (B). The third plural has occasionally *-unt* (cf. § 5 iv), e.g. 28, 759 etc.

II. Infinitive:

The verbs of the first conjugation are never confused with those of the third as *saver* : *demorer* in *Beuve de Haumtone* 898 except *saver* : *targer* 304 in (B), cf. § 15. This phenomenon is common by the middle

¹ Thus Mr Ritchie applying this test to the *Pèlerinage*, considered by many to be an eleventh or very early twelfth century text, doubted that it should be ascribed to a date earlier than the end of the twelfth century, while M. Coulet (*Études sur le Voyage de Charlemagne*, Montpellier 1907) arrived at a like conclusion from other considerations.

of the thirteenth century and there are some cases in the rimed sermon *Deu le omnipotent*, e.g. *penser : aver* (altogether five cases in 122 sixains), but in certain texts as *St Richard* (circ. 1270) the confusion is limited to the commonest verbs as: *aver, saver, ver, poer, valer*. There are no instances of this in Gaimar, Adgar or *St Gilles*. The form *obli (: chai)* 283 suggests an infinitive *oblir*; such barbarisms are frequent in late thirteenth century Anglo-French.

III. Present:

The third person singular of *aler* is *vait* in rime with *trait* 669 and also *dreit* 899, cf. § 13; the third plural of *dire* is *dient* 927. In the subjunctive the verbs of the first conjugation have no *e* in the third person, e.g. *penst* 627; *purgart (: tart)* 407; *pardoint* 327 etc.; *ait* 1590. Other forms are *augent* 936; *donez* (i.e. *doniez*): *targiez* 645. The third sing. of *saveir* is *sace* but not in rime. This is the normal form for Anglo-Norman; it is in rime with *grace* in the *Bestiaire*, in *St Laurent*, *Tristan* and Adgar and with *place* in *Ipomedon* 2297; from *prendre* we have *prenge* 1573, already in the *Bestiaire* 20 and *Donnei des Amanz* 74.

IV. Imperfect:

The imperfect ending *-out* of the first conjugation is only once *-finout*¹ (: *plout*) 212 found in rime contrary to the practice of most Agn. writers; the ending *-eit* which is often added to verbs of the first conjugation is here found only in three instances: two in (B) 201, 225 and one in (A) 1438. From *estre* we find *ert* 267 and *estoe* 987.

V. Preterite:

For *t* of the weak forms cf. § 31. The preterite of *chaïr* is *chaï* and of *remaindre* *remist*; this form is already in the *Bestiaire* but here only in (B); that of *voleir* is *vout* 453 and *vot* 237. The first sing. of *saveir* is *soi* 320. There are no 'dedi' perfects; thus the preterite of *tendre* is *tendi*. The form *fu* is alone used both before vowels and consonants.

VI. Future and conditional:

From *doner* we have *durra* 500 and *dureient* 1474; from *laissier* (*laier*) *larrum* 299; from *estre* *ert* 29; further *plereit* 242; *parra* 1574; the shortened forms of *faire*, e.g. *frai*, are common in Agn. since the *Bestiaire* and so too the trisyllabic forms *avera* etc.; these last are, however, always dissyllabic according to the scansion.

VII. Imperative:

The only form of interest is *diez* 328.

¹ This form even is not quite certain; the correct reading might be *fin out*; the tenses would then be in better agreement.

§ 56. The government of verbs.

Very little attention has been paid to the government of verbs in Old French in the standard grammars; I am therefore contenting myself with a simple constatacion of facts as they are in this poem.

aidier vers 121, 126; here the prepositional complement seems rather to belong to *avancer* or *amendement*.

apendre de 754; usually with *a* or *envers*, e.g.

Deus ne fist terre qui envers li n'apende;

Il i (= lui) apent Baviere et Alemaigne. Cour. de Louis II. 16—7.

comander (or *mander*, cf. § 59) followed by infinitive without preposition 577, 1244, 1451.

comencer without preposition 498, 275, 697, 777, 834. Cf. Burgardt, *Über den Einfluss des Englischen auf das Anglonormannische*, where many examples are quoted with *a*, *de* or no preposition; cf. too *St Richard* § 67.

donner vers 1693: no instance in Godefroy. Cf. *La Folie Tristan* (MS. Oxford) 323.

entendre vers 1556, generally with *a*, cf. l. 87; no instance in Godefroy.

mesfaire a 1572; the usual construction is with *vers*; Godefroy v 282.

mesprendre vers 1562; one instance in Godefroy viii 203 b; in the *Donnei des Amantz* 74 with *devers*.

oir de with infinitive 429 and with *entour* 89; no instances in Godefroy.

se peiner de 429, 618; the examples in Godefroy are of much later date than our poem.

servir a 8, 759. This would appear to be a latinism, though classical Latin uses the dative or *apud*; I have only met this construction in religious and didactic work (cf. Koschwitz, *Commentar* p. 90, § 4). The same construction occurs in *Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne* l. 8¹. Godefroy x 669 b quotes this use in a somewhat different sense.

tucher de 201, 1436. No examples in Godefroy of this use till modern times.

§ 57. Periphrastic constructions.

Our text contains many such constructions:

- i. *aler* + present participle 1374, 1501, 1516, 1530, 1535, 1543.
- ii. *estre* + „ „ 317, 474, 889, 1488, 1637, 1641, 1642.
- iii. *venir* + „ „ 63—4, 1491.

¹ Further *Vie de saint André*, l. 397, *Et s'a mon Dieu ne vus servir* in MSS. Paris, Arsenal 3516 and Oxford Canon. Misc. 74.

The reading *l'ad tut refusant* l. 62 should perhaps be *li va...* Instances of these constructions may be seen in plenty in mono-rimed tirades of *Renaut de Montauban*.

§ 58. *Voleir* with the infinitive.

This construction with a future sense has been called an anglicism by Burghardt, *l. c.* pp. 57—74. Without a fuller examination of continental didactic work I am not inclined to accept this view, but the frequency of the construction in Agn. is striking; since, however, the main output of Agn. literature is religious, the source should perhaps be looked for rather in late Latin didactic literature. Our text presents: *voil* + infinitive in ll. 65, 648, 742, 981, 982, 1364; *volum* + infinitive in line 1004; *voudrai* in line 642 and *voudrunt* line 1673.

§ 59. Words and phrases.

se aveir 1437. G. quotes this in the sense of 'se conduire'; its meaning here is rather the Latin one.

barun = husband 483, cf. *Panuce*, published by me in *Romania* XXXVIII p. 421.

brache = braquet 562. Godefroy only quotes *brachet*, cf. l. 565. Cf. *Bestiaire* of Guillaume le Clerc 224.

cheminal; see footnote to line 307.

chescun 190; Agn. scribes adhere carefully to the form *chescun* or *chascun* but in its adjectival use it is often found as e.g. *en chascun endreit*—a group of four syllables—where the scansion seems to demand *chaque*, a form of only rare occurrence in the thirteenth century (cf. Brunot, *Grammaire*, ii 320).

comander and *mander* 577, 1244, 1451; the confusion of these two verbs seems to be complete.

cuchetref 946. This word does not to my knowledge occur elsewhere; I believe it is the sail that was used as an awning and known in *St Gilles* as *tialz* (see below *teoldé*). Professor Brandin has kindly suggested to me that the line may perhaps have read *K'en maison fet le archetref*; I have not found *archetref* nor indeed *architrave* earlier than the sixteenth century. In favour of *cuchetref* may be cited several meanings of *couch* in the N.E.D. Professor Weekley suggests to read *Ke maison fet ne* (for *le*) *cuchetref*.

deit 934; see footnote to line, cf. § 53 iv A.

despire 166. This verb seems to be exclusively Norman and Agn.

empaourir 692. This would seem to be a variant of *espaourir*, cf.

Pèlerinage 709 where the MS. has *aspourie*; *espoërie* is also in *St Auba.* l. 486 and *Vie de St Grégoire* by Angier, 1934.

enfundré 296. Godefroy quotes *enfonder* and variant *enfondrer*. The line should perhaps be corrected *enfondrés*; cf. § 65.

enteims 157, 939, 1479; according to G. Paris, Introduction to *St Gilles* p. xvii this word is not often found after the twelfth century. It occurs in the *Donnei* l. 375.

entrussément 499, *estrusser* 1111. The adverb and the phrase *estros* are very common, but the verb does not appear in Godefroy in the sense it has here of 'to drive out.'

envilir 1517. Godefroy does not quote this form but only *aviler* and *enviler* in the meaning here implied. (For *en-* for *a-* see § 6.)

esquieler 1322 quoted by G. under *escueillier* = scutellarius, a scullery man. I am indebted to Professor Suchier for this hint.

esperital 308 = inspiration, only as an adjective in G.

frankeleins 490. G. does not quote this word; its meaning is evidently a small freeholder.

funfelue 1318 = modern French *fanfreluche*.

gerrons 282 = the flaps of the cloak.

glu 1331, cf. Godefroy, Supplément.

gré = willingly 119. G. mentions this use but quotes no examples; I have met no other instance; the line should be emended as in § 53 I B.

krenke 290, apparently an English word such as Agn. writers often introduce into their works, e.g. *D'ales en engleis dist hom Ely*¹ (*Vie de Sainte Audrée*, folio 102 v° b).

menestraus 1444 = servants; in this sense its use seems to be confined to didactic literature, e.g. Alexis 65 d; Chardry, *Sept Dormanz* 766.

merir 1674 = reward; cf. G. v 259 a and the late Latin distinction between *mereo* and *mereor*.

ostez 574. Godefroy quotes *ostes* s.v.; 'exclamation employée pour repousser l'idée d'une chose'; it occurs very frequently according to him in the *Roman du saint Graal*. If this form is correct, it is interesting to consider it as an imperative forming an interjection and to compare it with the English *out!* which may possibly be formed on the same model.

overaine 1344 appears to be workwoman whereas *uveraine* 1298^{*} seems to have the meaning of work to be done about a place.

oveskaus 1452, 1474 = ecclesiastics; G. only quotes as adjective.

¹ This is translated directly from Bede, cap. xvii (xix), ed. Plummer, p. 246 *Unde et a copia anguillarum...nomen accepit.*

seüz 562 = hunting dogs }
suchier 339 < *suspiciari* } . G. Paris, Introduction to *St Gilles*
 p. xviii, remarks that these two words seem not to be found after the twelfth century.

soil 1476. In the sense this word bears here, G. quotes no clear instances (cf. § 20). There is another instance in Sanson de Nantuil (apud Bartsch, *Lang. et Litt.* col. 152. 35).

taches 281 = the fastening of the cloak, i.e. *fibula*, as found in the glossary mentioned in *Documents manuscrits* (P. Meyer) p. 126 and published in the *Jahrbuch für rom. u. eng. Literatur* vii 37—8.

teoldé 874. The verb *teolder* is unknown elsewhere; as stated in the footnote, the word refers to the raising of the awning (*tialz*) over the waist of a ship when in port, its object was to increase the accommodation. Boats with tilts—tilt-boats—were in use on the Thames in the last century. In line 874 *bien* should be omitted.

veage 375 appears to have the meaning 'phase'; in this sense it is not quoted by Godefroy.

volage 239 = a frivolous person; not quoted by G. in this sense till 1386. Chardry has the word with the meaning frivolity: *Car jeo sai ke par volage, Estes entrez en tele rage. Sept Dormanz* 431—2.

a ceo que 1199, 1591. As will have been seen from § 53 viii, this conjunction is used to imply both simultaneous action with and posterior action to that of the principal verb. In the first sense its use is older than in the second and it should be noted that the first occurs in the older portion (O) and the second in (A). Mr Ritchie only found *en iceo que* in the twelfth century works he examined.

a merveille 215. This is an early use of the locution; generally one finds in Old French *merveilles* in this sense; this occurs in the same MS. in the life of St Audry, folio 117 v° a. Early instances of *a merveille* and *a merveilles* are to be found in *Roman de Troie* 1175, *Guillaume de Palerne* 36, and the *Lai de l'Ombre* 557, but *merveilles* is found as late as the Agn. life of Edward the Confessor (1256) l. 638.

a peine...que...ne 351. This seems to be the oldest case of this conjunction in the sense of scarcely...when... I have not found it before Froissart: *A paines estoient Flamenc cheü, quant pillart venoient...* and *Chevalier du papegai: il n'ot mie a peine finie sa parole, quant il vit venir ung chevalier* (quoted from Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, iv, p. 40). Notice that in each case *que* is replaced by *quant*. The cases of *a paine que* quoted by Mr Ritchie, p. 27, as e.g. *Cant je tres bien i pens, a paine ke n'en plor; Poème moral* 337 b, are not temporal conjunctions.

aveir cher 415 = *aimer*.

aveir en pris 677 = to delight in.

curant sur ventre 612, cf. *courir ventre à terre*.

n'i en ad 730, cf. modern *il n'en est rien*.

est a venir 261 = *devenir*. This is perhaps an anglicism, cf. *St Richard* § 71, e.g. *sui a venir = je dois venir*. Note this instance is in (B).

fere son bon 508, 513 = *faire son talent*.

fort serreit 851 (cf. § 44 A) = it would be difficult to... There are analogous cases in G., cf. *Forz serreit*...

quant est issi 665 = since it is so.

qui d'un qui d'el 1466 = what with one thing and another.

saver moun 554 = to learn the truth about; cf. *Romania* 1909, p. 420, l. 4.

semblant, voir semblant 1378 = they see no reason for asking; G. does not quote any example of this use.

souventefeiz 481, cf. *St Richard* § 57.

tantes feiz 523, cf. *St Richard* § 57; no example in Godefroy.

tel hore est = often, cf. G. under *eure*, iii 672.

tut dis 1415, 1653; this phrase is common in Agn. (less frequent elsewhere); cf. *Bestiaire* 2696; *Marie de France*, *Bisclavet* 318.

VERSIFICATION.

§ 60. Divisions of the poem.

Certain reasons for stating that our poem as here published is the work of different periods have been set out in the Introduction; this diversity of authorship is rendered much more evident by an analysis of the versification. The oldest part may be designated as (O); the portion dealing with the punishment of Archbishop Richard as (A); and the Modwenna incident as (B).

The approximate division of the 1694 lines (three have been omitted by the scribe) is as follows:

(O) ll. 1—182, 387—1416 = 1212 (2 ll. omitted in this section),

(A) ll. 1417—1694 = 278 (1 line omitted),

(B) ll. 183—386 = 204.

The length of section (B) must necessarily be somewhat conjectural; ll. 182 and 382 seem by their similarity to suggest the limits of the interpolation, while a few lines before and after these would seem to

form the 'join.' Doubtless the matter of ll. 376—386 was in the original form of the poem as it is in both the Latin MSS. that are of importance—Bodley and Lansdown; the French lines are as close a translation as is generally the case in work of this kind. Another factor which weighed with me in thinking that section (B) should end with line 386 is that this line is very corrupt and contains ten syllables and although it is not more corrupt than many lines in Agn. poems, yet if we take out the word *home*¹ which seems to clash in sense with *rei* and re-write the line using good twelfth century forms, we get a perfectly correct line:

Al pöestëif rei Syer.

From this point onwards the lines are as regular as at any part of the poem.

§ 61. The couplet.

In his edition (*Romania*, xxv, pp. 497—541) of the interesting Agn. poem *Le Donnei des Amants*, G. Paris remarks: 'Notre poète est encore archaïque en ce qu'il est à peu près absolument fidèle à l'ancienne règle de versification exposée par P. Meyer, et d'après laquelle le sens est toujours arrêté au deuxième vers d'un "couplet" et ordinairement au deuxième vers de chaque couplet². Il va même beaucoup plus loin et se rapproche, par la structure de son vers, des formes les plus anciennes du vers octosyllabique en français. Sur les 1242 vers de son poème qui nous ont été conservés, les huit dixièmes environ ont une quatrième syllabe qui porte l'accent tonique, et qui dans plus des deux tiers finit un mot (ou est pénultième avec élision de l'e final), tandis que dans l'autre tiers elle est pénultième sans élision. Des vers restants, la plupart ont une césure féminine avec accent à la quatrième syllabe (*Mires diënt que c'est santé*), et il n'y a guère qu'une vingtaine de vers en tout qui ne rentrent pas dans l'une ou l'autre de ces formules. Un pareil état de choses ne saurait être fortuit il suffit de mettre en regard

¹ In the life of St Audry in the same MS. the same scribe has made the same interpolation.

² In *Romania*, xxiii, pp. 1—35, M. Paul Meyer shows by very many examples that except perhaps for Adgar who is not careful of the couplet (it should be noted that, whereas English retains the etymological meaning of couplet, in modern French the word implies tirade or stanza) Agn. poets adhere to the rule of ending the sense with the couplet. He adds that for saints' lives this is generally the rule. The rule is observed too in those of the fourteenth century as e.g. Bozon, cf. *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, xxxiv, p. 295 and in those I have published, cf. footnote 4 of the introduction to St Osith. M. Meyer shows that the poet of importance who dared to break this rule is Chrétien de Troyes closely followed by Raoul de Houdenc. I am not aware that any Agn. writer has followed these innovations to any great extent.

de notre poème les 1200 premiers vers de *Perceval* ou de *Méragis* pour voir que la proportion est tout autre....'

Considering our poem from the same points of view we find that the rule of the couplet may be said to have been observed almost without exception. Thus ll. 137—8 do not seem to be satisfactorily coupled and ll. 301—4 seem rather to be built up of three lines and one line, although the sense is complete with the fourth line, while ll. 329—331, 1471—3 and 1474—6 form what are probably the only real infractions; it should be noted, however, that these occur in (B) and in (A) only. Groups in which the sense is complete in two couplets are of course numerous, e.g. 1295—8, 1299—1302, etc. These infractions in (B) and in (A) are one of the many points for ascribing them to a later period than the main body of the poem.

§ 62. The line—syllabism.

An analysis of each separate line of the poem gives the following results:

A. Metrically correct octosyllabic lines:

	O	A	B	Total
	1210	277	204	1691
(1) 4+4, cesura after 4th syllable and ending a word	650	151	58	
exs. ll. 13, 16, 38, etc.		1443	251	
(2) Feminine cesura	107	23	17	
exs. ll. 8, 20, 22, etc.		1491	218	
(3) Césure enjambante	62	17	4	
exs. ll. 7, 19		1516	192	
(4) With feminine e after 4th syllable elided	49	12	4	
exs. ll. 10, 30		1509	264	
(5) Cesura after 5th syllable	69	11	10	
exs. ll. 23, 78		1474	265	
(6) Cesura after 3rd syllable	61	8	10	
exs. ll. 80, 115		1503	259	
(7) Cesura elsewhere	86	22	7	
exs. ll. 45, 642		1598	280	
(8) No cesura	24	4	13	
exs. ll. 25, 50		1591	220	
(9) Hiatus (cf. § 72)	30	7	3	
exs. ll. 6, 14		1464	222	
Total of octosyllabic lines	1138	255	125	
Percentage of correct lines	94·05	91·6	61·25	

B. Metrically incorrect lines:

(a) Catalectic lines:

(1)	7 syllables (4+3)	7	—	6
	exs. ll. 32		291	
(2)	7 (3+4)	2	2	1
	exs. ll. 572	*1576	256	
(3)	7—no cesura	2	—	5
	exs. ll. 808		221	
(4)	7—cesura elsewhere	—	—	1
	ex.		270	
	Total of 7 syllable lines	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>13</u>

(b) Hypercatalectic lines:

(5)	9=(4+4) epic cesura	7	5	18
	exs. ll. 542	1580	249	
(6)	9=(5+4)	4	—	10
	exs. ll. 898		232	
(7)	9=(4+5)	—	—	5
	ex.		273	
(8)	9—cesura elsewhere	4	3	13
	exs. ll. 155	1449	215	
(9)	9—no cesura	1	—	2
	exs. ll. 86		195	
(10)	Emendations made in footnotes or §§ 64-70	<u>41</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>
	Total of incorrect lines	<u>64</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>82</u>
	Percentage of incorrect lines	5.95	8.4	38.75

Comparing our results with those obtained for the *Donnei*, we find that they are almost precisely the same; in that poem two-thirds of eight-tenths (i.e. eight-fifteenths = 664 lines = 53.3 per cent.) are divided 4+4 or else have elided *e*, corresponding to our numbers (1) and (4); taking these for (O) we find our result is 57.8 per cent. and for (O) and (A) together 57.9 and for the whole poem 54.6 per cent. The remaining divisions do not exactly tally with our divisions; G. Paris does not state how he regards lines in his poem like:

- (1) Tant poeit munter la parole 297,
- (2) Esgardai les pomers floriz 13,
- (3) Oï ses oiselès chanter 15,

which would have been classified in our tables under numbers (5), (6) and (7) respectively; but if we add the classes (3), (5), (6), (7) and (8) together we arrive at 24.9 per cent. which is practically the equivalent of

his four-fifteenth (or one third of eight-tenths as he says). That our poem should show an excess of regularity over the *Donnei* is quite in accord with the soberness of the subject.

§ 63. The line—position of the cesura.

The question whether the octosyllabic line has a cesura is much debated; the answer is certainly in the affirmative for a number of the oldest poems as the *Passion, vie de S. Léger, Gormunt et Isembart, Roman de S. Michel, Voyage de Brandan, Roman de Thèbes*, and the answer is possibly also the same for the *Roman d'Enéas, Roman de Troie* and the *Roman de Rou* and a great deal of the work of Marie de France. In a recent dissertation¹ the matter has been thoroughly gone into and a large number of texts carefully analysed. It is sometimes a little difficult to agree with the conclusions arrived at; thus e.g. the *lai Les dous Amanz* of Marie de France is stated to have 'einen Einschnitt in der Mitte' in 224 lines out of the 254, i.e. 88·2 per cent. I have examined this *lai* on the same plan as our poem (see preceding section) and should divide its lines in the following way: (1) 115, (2) 29, (3) 24, (4) 10, (5) 14, (6) 12, (7) 36, (8) 13. Therefore to arrive at the same results as the author of this dissertation we should need to agree that all lines except those under (5) and (6)—where the fifth and third syllable is tonic and ends the word—had an 'Einschnitt in der Mitte': but could the following lines be said to be so divided?

Exs. of (3), 24 in all:

- (a) que mult est saive de mescines
tant cunuist herbes e racines 107—8.
- (b) tels letuaires vus durra 113.
- (c) cungie demande a s'amie 130.

Exs. of (7), 36 in all:

- (a) ne le refreschisse le cors 147.
- (b) ne m'arestereie a nul fuer 200.
- (c) unkes si dolente ne fu 232.

Exs. of (8), 13 in all:

- (a) car ne s'en poeit consirer 28.
- (b) e par druërie l'amast 66.

I point this out because the author indicates that a percentage of over 80 per cent. of lines with 'Einschnitt' in the middle is necessary

¹ Melchior, *Der Achtsilbler in der altfranzösischen Dichtung mit Ausschluss der Lyrik*. Leipzig, 1907.

before it can be stated that such system is intentional on the part of the poet. I would rather take the stricter view of the octosyllable with cesura and put the dividing line at about 60 per cent. I am inclined to believe that so far as Anglo-Norman saints' lives are concerned a pause is intentional and that it is due to the influence of music which continued to work when such poems were destined only for reading aloud. A lengthy examination I have in hand tends to show that saints' lives differ enormously in this particular, whereas the life of St Audry (end of XII century) has under Nos. 1, 2, 4 (cf. § 62 A) only 53 per cent., another life—that of St Andrew (written probably about the same time and by a Frenchman resident in England)—has fully 90 per cent. of these lines. It would seem probable that the skill in 'psalmody' often attributed to pious people in Agn. saints' lives could extend to skill in reading—and a good deal of skill must have been necessary to make the ill-built lines run at all smoothly—the lives of saints.

An interesting side-light on the part to be left to the reader (or speaker) of Agn. lines is to be found in the Latin directions for the actors in the old drama of Adam²...*et, in rithmis, nec sillabam addant nec demant, sed omnes firmiter pronuncient et dicantur seriatim que dicenda sunt.*

§ 64. The irregularity of the line.

In the preceding section I stated my belief in the existence of the cesura in the Agn. octosyllable. The fact is of prime importance for the discussion of the irregularity of the line. I have stated before that the octosyllabic line is in a vast majority of cases built up of two groups; these groups may be of a varying number of syllables. Further, a feminine *e*, mute in a large number of cases as befits its unimportance in pronunciation, may become sonant when its presence is required to build a group. I will take examples of this phenomenon rather from a faulty thirteenth century text than from this life of St Osith which, so far as regards the main bulk of the poem, is fairly accurate. Thus in the life of *St Richard* by Peter of Peckham, written about 1270 we find:

(1) after a liquid, feminine *e* is generally silent:

Par la bele maisun seinte eglise³ 1103;

¹ In the life of St Audry we find: *Adamnis ont icil a non, Mult ert de grant religion; En vigile et en salmodie, Menoit iceo prudom sa vie*, folio 111, verso b. This life is written by a nun, named Marie.

² *Das Adamspiel*, hgg. Gross, Halle 1907², Romanische Bibliothek, No. 6.

³ This line, torn from its context, might appear to be a line without cesura, but it is not so.

but when the tendency to group is evident we have:

De la cure k'avant aveit 788.

(2) after a dental, feminine *e* is frequently silent:

Que tute la bible pres oit 796;

but when it is desired to form a grammatical unity or group:

Ot comencié de tute part 174.

Dunc fu preisé de tute gent 506.

Tute l'esglise enluminerent 720.

(3) after a nasal, feminine *e* is generally silent:

K'a peine les piez moveir poeit 985;

but to form a group:

Est ceste eglise cum lune bele 1118.

Sachez le veir en bone fei 1337.

(4) the ending *-ent* (*-eient*, *-erent*) is also often silent:

D'ovre de martel furent forgez 688.

K'il aveient tel tresor perdu 755.

Jugerent lequel le deust aver 605;

but to form a group:

Le loerent ke il amast 267.

(5) between consonants (especially *muta cum liquida*) feminine *e* is often silent:

Priveement a sei appella 1331.

Son chapelein k'especial aveit 1321;

but to form a group:

Sire Williame sun chapelein 1373.

There is another phenomenon that strengthens my view, viz. that the line that has no cesura is not only rare but comparatively regular in scansion (cf. the tables, § 62). Again in cases where the line without cesura is too long or too short it is susceptible to very simple and evident emendation. Taking examples again from *St Richard* we find:

(6) after a vowel, feminine *e* is generally mute:

E jeo par l'aïe seint Richard 59;

but when the line has no pause:

Dunt joie de quer de li out 609.

Dunt jeo esteie tant grevez¹ 548;

(7) after a liquid, feminine *e* is silent:

De fere dreiture ne se feint mie 636;

but when the line has no cesura:

E issi fere le soleit 781.

¹ This line could be emended to ...*itant*, but the form only occurs once in the poem.

A sonant feminine *e* after a *de* tal, a nasal, in the ending *-ent* and between consonants (for mute *e* see Nos. (2), (3), (4), (5) above) is found in the following lines:

- (8) E grant multitude de gent 1531.
- (9) Veeir coment l'alme passa 1516.
- (10) (a) Ke mal me furent par itant 549,
(b) Pur ceo chanterent sanglulant 1684.
- (11) L'ercevesque e sun chancelier 714.

When then Professor Suchier says in his memorable review of Atkinson's edition of the *Vie de saint Auban* (p. 26): 'Sobald der Achtsilbler sechs oder neun Silben hat, ist die Cäsur obligatorisch,' I should agree with him, only I should add that *because of the cesura* such irregularity becomes possible. I should not like to suggest that the ear of the Agn. writer was absolutely at fault but the words of the defective hemistich must have been so pronounced as to produce an approximation to the necessary four syllables or at least have produced a similar effect. It would be hazardous to attempt to say how nearly or in what way a line containing one or two defective hemistiches was extended in pronunciation so as to approximate to the octosyllable but one or two remarks may not seem beside the point. It will be noticed in the following paragraphs and in the examples quoted by Suchier in the above-mentioned review that most of the defective hemistiches contain a diphthong and that when this diphthong had *i* as its second component that letter is represented by *y*¹. This would certainly seem to be an indication as to the pronunciation to be adopted by the reader. Again that *é* could be diphthongal is proved by § 15, while the practice of inserting *y* or *i* before the tonic when a vowel follows (cf. § 15) and the frequent spelling of an accented vowel by double letters must surely point to change in pronunciation.

It seems to me that in this grouping or non-grouping must lie the explanation of the irregularity of the Anglo-Norman line.

§ 65. The line with 7 syllables.

A great many of the inaccuracies of an Anglo-French work in a MS. written in England must doubtless be attributed to the scribe, but one and the same scribe cannot be blamed for the difference in inaccuracy such as is found in our poem—7·2 per cent. for (O) and (A) combined and 38 per cent. for (B): this must be attributed to the authors.

¹ I am, of course, aware of the various criticisms of Suchier's theories, but they amount generally only to emending the exs. used, yet it is admitted by all that this may be carried too far; there is in every text a residue of defective lines not susceptible to emendation.

I have stated in the foregoing paragraph that I ascribe this inaccuracy mainly to the grouping or non-grouping, but firstly all reasonable efforts should be made to secure as accurate a text as possible. First I will consider the short lines in (O) and in (A).

32 This line consists of one correct group and another that has three syllables. I suggest that the second group was originally *bor fu cil nez*, but here also the word *bour* with diphthong suggests another explanation.

92 This line is emended in a footnote.

572 This line is defective in its first hemistich; this half line would possibly be read *tut a pi-yé*, the diphthongisation being rendered possible by the following vowel of *alé*; the emendation *trestot a* (or *de*) *pié* is also possible.

808 This line having no cesura should be emended; the emendation is obvious, the Latin text has *caput...ambabus manibus*; our text should therefore have *dous mains*.

844 Defective in the second hemistich; the future *ert* may be read *iert* diphthongally; it would be possible to emend to *sera*.

958 Defective in the second hemistich; here the diphthong of *vient* seems to explain the deficiency. I have noticed a short line again and again in Agn. with this word.

968 As there is no cesura emendation is necessary; I propose to insert *tut*: *De tut ceo....*

1034 After the impersonal verb *avint* a relative *ceo* should be inserted, cf. l. 322.

1186, 1254, 1336, 1385, 1405 are emended in the footnotes.

1576 In the text I have corrected on the grounds that the longer form appears in l. 1623, it would perhaps be better to allow the form of the MS. to stand and to insert a necessary co-relative *ceo* before *esprover*, the line would then fall into the two group system.

In (B) the faulty lines are much more numerous; in cases where the cesural pause is not strongly marked or where there is no cesura I propose to emend as follows:

190 Corr. *en fere cert*; the phrase requires a complement.

221 Use the form *Modwenne* as in line 217 and explain hiatus as in § 72.

225 Corr. *ceo aveneit*, a co-relative is lacking, cf. *Erec* 5809, *Cligès* 4440 and line 322.

256 Corr. *trestut l'or*.

291 Corrected in the text.

293 Read *amedez* as in line 341 which should become *amdez*.

296 It would seem simple to emend *come* en un *puiz* but the meaning is obscure since it is not clear whether the author means to say that Osith and her book were actually sunk in a hole in the river bed or whether the *krenke* is a *puiz*.

298 Corr. en *icel* duit.

323 Except for the instances in G. I have met the form *leus* only in the Agn. MS. of St Marie l'Égyptienne; *lues* means in Old French 'immediately,' but neither in that text nor here does this meaning seem to come out of the context. In *St Marie* it is emended in various ways by the other MSS.; it seems to me that here the text should read *iluec*, and this would then give the required eight syllables.

363 Use the form *Modwenne* as in line 217.

367 The line may be read with pause after *ewe*; cf. § 72.

373 Read *adone*.

In making so many emendations in (B) I might seem to be abandoning the principles laid down in § 63, but this is only apparently the case; (B) is a thirteenth century episode and the faulty lines in poems of that century are so by reason of their hypermetric lines rather than by those that are too short; a glance at the tables in § 62 will show this; there the hypermetric lines for (O) are no more than 53 out of 1210 lines while (B) has 69 out of 204; therefore the short line in a thirteenth century poem is much more likely to be due to the scribe than is the hypermetric line¹. In *St Richard* the lines with seven syllables did not amount to five per cent. of the incorrect lines and were readily emendable.

§ 66. The lines of 9 syllables with epic cesura.

The existence of this cesura is generally denied for all except a few of the oldest poems, e.g. the *Passion*:

Jesus reis magnes est sus montez 26.

Chantet aveient de Jesus Crist 28.

Sus en la piedre li angles sist 401.

In other poems it is generally taken as a negligence. In certain Agn. poems however it occurs so frequently that I am inclined to see in it a recognised practice, a natural outcome of the division of the line

¹ This phenomenon is not without exceptions, e.g. in the life of St Thomas (cf. § 66) out of 432 lines 163 are short and 21 only too long according to the editor, while in the life of Edward the Confessor (1265) the first 700 lines contain 135 short lines and about 30 of 9 syllables.

into groups; it seems logical to assume that if the line may have an uncounted syllable at the end it may also have one at the pause in the middle. I have made a few statistics of the frequency of this line in Agn. octosyllabic poems:

Gaimar: *Estorie*, ll. 1000—2000 3 cases (ll. 1058, 1590, 1887).

Adgar: Theophilus legend (No. 17) 2 cases (ll. 62, 1005).

Vie de S. Gilles no cases.

Adamspiel 6 cases.

Haveloc (ll. 1195) 4 cases (ll. 78, 294, 388, 788).

In these poems then it would be impossible to consider this as more than negligences on the part of author or scribe, but when we come to poems of the thirteenth century the number of such lines increases greatly; and we find:

Fragments d'une Vie de S. Thomas (circa 1220) 6 cases in 432 lines.

Vie de sainte Modwenne (first 100 quatrains) 15 „ 400 „

Chardry: *Petit Plet* (circa 1230) ll. 1—400 28 „ 400 „

St Richard (circa 1270) ll. 1—400 43 „ 400 „

The cases of this kind of error in (O) seem to be like those of the first group of poems mentioned above; that is, negligences of scribe or poet and susceptible to emendation; thus:

176 The poem seems to me old enough to suggest that *ke* be omitted (cf. § 53, iii).

542 *ariere*: for this form read *arier*.

623 *esteient*: verbal endings were the first to be disregarded in scansion, especially where the cesural pause was at all marked. This I prefer to regard as a poet's negligence rather than to suggest the omission of *tut*.

695 This appears to be a faulty line, though *tant* may be due to the scribe.

696 Here *ke* may be omitted; *deable* as a dissyllable is well known and not merely in Agn.

793 *saillirent*: This might appear to be a case of omission of word ending as in line 623 above, but the line can be emended in two ways; by omission of initial *E* or by changing the tense to *saillant* in accordance with the tense of the second line of the couplet; this last commends itself best to me since the line has no cesural pause and according to § 64 the feminine *e* should be sonant.

1184 The initial *si* is not required; additions at the beginning of a line are among the usual contributions of scribes.

The cases in (A) can all be arranged in the one class; they consist in the uncounted *-e* or *-es* after the fourth syllable; such lines are 1473, 1475, 1486, 1580, 1616.

The cases in (B) are like those in (A) and prove that for the author the feminine *e* after the tonic accent may be mute, especially at the middle of the line: cf. ll. 213, 217, 242, 243, 244, 247, 249, 258, 268, 281, 285, 300, 308, 321, 333, 341, 345, 358.

§ 67. The line with tonic accent on the fifth syllable.

The four cases in (O)—there are none in (A)—are doubtless all due to the scribe; the following emendations are offered:

898 *avera*: the tense seems incorrect, read *a*.

1033 The pronoun *il* may be omitted; cf. § 48.

1099, 1244 These lines have been corrected in the footnotes.

The instances in (B) are more difficult of treatment; we must assume that the first hemistich containing five syllables must have been so pronounced as to be brought within the group. It is hazardous to do more than suggest how this was done.

215 The locution *a merveille* is probably due to the scribe, the usual Old French *merveilles* (cf. § 59) read with mute *e* would reduce the line.

232 Perhaps a shortened form of the name was used.

241 We may assume the pronunciation *ap'la*; cf. § 64 (5).

274 The pronunciation of *damisele* seems to have been whittled down to *damzel* (cf. English *damsel*) and the same form must be assumed for lines 315, 329, while in line 347 where the expression is more formal and the line without pause, we have the normal number of syllables.

287 Corrected in text.

313 The feminine *e* of *bele* must be mute (cf. § 64 (1)); this seems natural in a stock phrase like *bele suer*.

316 It seems difficult to assume the pronunciation *livr'* but instances are plentiful in Agn.

343—4 It is suggested in footnote to omit *ke*; cf. § 53 (iii).

350 This line has probably been altered by the scribe; though the raising of Lazarus is often referred to in Old French literature, e.g. *Jhesus lo Lazer suscitet* (*Passion*, l. 30), the phrase *al tierz jur* seems rather to refer to Christ's own resurrection; of Lazarus we read: *Venit itaque Jesus et invenit eum quattuor dies jam in monumento habentem* (Joannis xi, 17). I would propose to read: *Ki fu suscitez al tierz jur* (For the

tense in use in Agn. cf. *E cum il fu resuscité* in the Agn. anonymous translation of the *Evangelie de Nicodème*, line 11, S. A. T.). I would further support this emendation by remarking that in none of the Latin texts of the Life of Modwenna which the author may have used as sources for the account of Osith's immersion is there any reference to Lazarus.

351 This should perhaps be explained as in l. 232; for *a peine* cf. § 59.

§ 68. The line of 9 syllables with accent on the fourth, i.e. with hypermetrical second hemistich.

212 In thirteenth Agn. the definite article is apt to lose its syllabic value, thus the second hemistich will form a group of four.

273, 284 Read *ew'*.

374 Old French *reïne* has been influenced in its development by *rei*, it is best to take this as an instance of its modern form *reine* with diphthongal *ei*.

380 *enseignement*: the feminine *e* is mute as in *St Richard* 3, § 64.

§ 69. The line of 9 syllables without cesura.

According to my remarks in § 64 these lines should all admit readily of emendation. Note there is only one in (O) and two in (B).

88 The initial *Kar* is to be omitted as an addition of the scribe.

195 Two solutions are possible (i) that the initial syllable of *dementers* is slurred—a frequent occurrence in Agn., cf. Suchier, *Seint Auban*, p. 34; Simund de Freine, p. liv and *St Richard*, § 72. (ii) that the *e* of *vie* is silent. Such lines are not uncommon in Agn., cf. *St Richard*, § 100. It must have been left to the choice of the reader to decide on the proper pronunciation.

226 The word *loinz* may be an insertion due to the scribe; in the life of Modwenna written by Geoffrey of Burton we find: *Modvenna fecit manere Atheam cum sorore regis* (sc. Editha) *in uno* [sc. *monasterio*, cf. ll. 218—9], *ipsa vero vacans orationibus aliquantis diebus solitaria mansit in altero...Editha...desideravit mittere aliquid ad magistram suam venerabilem Modvennam. Vocavit itaque puellam Osid et dicit ei: vade, inquit, ad dominam...et defer ei ex parte mea volumen istud.* The narrative gives us to understand further that the place of Modwenna's retreat was close by.

§ 70. The line of 9 syllables with cesura elsewhere.

Like the lines of the preceding paragraph, these should mostly be subject to emendation. We will first consider these in (O) and (A).

155 Read *example en prist de chasteté*.

528 Read *v'ray* and cf. § 5.

1049 Omit *cum* and cf. § 53 x.

1449 Omit *E*.

1451 Correct *manda*; cf. § 59.

1496 Omit *ke*; cf. § 53 i, iii, A.

The following in (B):

262 The feminine *e* of *message* is mute.

266 This is a case of doubtful scansion like line 195 in the preceding paragraph; either omit *kar* or consider the final *e* of *fere* as mute.

268 Read *pucel'*.

272 Read *Modwen* as suggested in § 67.

290, 344 Corrected in text.

327 Omit *ke*; cf. § 53 iii.

365—6 Omit *ja* and for *Osith* read *ele*; the name is rendered unnecessary by its appearance in the following line.

384 The enjambement entails a pause and brings about the mutation of the final *e* of *pere*.

§ 71. Other irregular lines.

These occur only in (B) and to a much less degree in (A).

205—6 The great irregularity of these lines is probably due to the scribe; in the list of Penda's pious descendants we only read of daughters (ll. 151—2) so that possibly the author only wrote:

E uncles de grant poësté

E aunes de grant chasteté.

210 Read *nul' maner'*.

214 Read *Modwen'* as suggested in § 70 and *abess'*.

235 The first hemistich must be read *exempl' trova*.

247 Read *doctrin'* and *el'*.

255 Corrected in text.

261 Read *v'nir*; for other instances cf., authors quoted, § 69, l. 195.

276 For *comensa* read the equivalent *se prist*; *se prendre* like *comencier* may be used without prepositional complement in Agn.

277 Read *river'*; the line is otherwise faulty.

286 The first hemistich consists of six syllables; it may have been read as *al prendr' s'abaiss'*.

301 This line has no cesura and so should be easily emendable: the sense seems to require 'when the dawn of the fourth day came.' I propose to adopt the reading of the MS. for line 269, *en la matinée*, and read *Del quart jur en la matinée*.

304 The original may have read *achoise* or *ochoise* and the group have been intended to be read *achois' saveir*; for initial *en* cf. § 6.

305 Read *El quer....*

308 The second group would be read *par sperital*; the word *espirit* and its compounds are of varying syllabic values in Agn.; cf. *Simund de Freine*, p. xlix.

328 Omit *vus* and read *verté*, a well-known form collateral with *verité*.

329 The first hemistich must be read *V'istes un' damsel'...*; cf. § 65.

330 Read *La matinée tierz jur fu hier*; the article may be readily omitted with expressions of time; cf. l. 334 and *Se vus y demoures tier jur li empereres et si traiteur ont pourparlé une grande traison*: Robert de Clari, *La Prise de Constantinople*, xxiii, 16; cf. Fredenhagen, *Über den Gebrauch des Artikels*, p. 17.

333 Read *Un' tel pucel'*.

372 Since there is no cesura, this line should be emended; it should probably read *Kar l'en le tendreit a fols gas*.

386 Cf. § 60.

The following two lines are in (A):

1438 The phrase *de Chich* is probably a gloss inserted into the text by the scribe.

1440 The *aſet* seems to be spurious and may be deleted, it looks like the mental reservation of an interested scribe.

§ 72. Hiatus.

The question of hiatus in Old French poetry has received full and careful attention in the vast work of Rydberg on the history of feminine *e* in French¹. It is extremely difficult to classify this phenomenon and examples appearing in one class may well find a place in another. The most salient divisions seem to be: A. Logical hiatus, where a final feminine *e* counts so as to allow the word its full syllabic value and to give it special prominence in the line. B. Metrical; in which the final feminine *e* must be counted to preserve the measure and the acceptance

¹ Gustaf Rydberg, *Zur Geschichte des französischen e*. Upsala, 1896—1907, p. 1039.

of which division entails the acceptance of the theory of a cesura.
 C. Grammatical; in which a feminine *e*, becoming final by the decay of the dental ending yet remains unelided before a following vowel.
 D. Analogical; in which an *e* after a heavy consonant group retains its syllabic value even before a vowel.

As instances of these we will quote from Rydberg, taking Agn. exs.:

- A. Out Rome / en baillie (6 sylls.), *Comput*, 1923.
 Ki d'Africke / ala requerre (8 sylls.), *Tristan* (de Thomas), 665.
- B. De la nue / eisut s'en sunt (8 sylls.), *Brandan*, 1667.
- C. Ainz que pousse(t) / entrer païs (8 sylls.), *Brandan*, 616.
- D. Pur espuser l'altre / Ysolt, *Tristan* (de Thomas), 307.

Our poem contains examples of all these kinds; the first group may be subdivided as follows:

A. Logical:

(a) Proper names—these may need special prominence;

- 1. Querondone / est apellée 184.
- 2. Modwene / en l'un sujurna 221.

(b) A pause in the sense;

- 1. Et martyre / a chef de tur 64.

This may be a case for emendation to the form *martirie* which may occasionally be found in rime with words in *-ie*.

- 2. E cele / en fait doit mut grant 1116.
- 3. Ceste overaine / endormir 1344.

(c) With *ne*, *ou*, *ke*, *le*;

- (a) *ne*: Ne ci ne / ailleurs ja ne pert 6.
 Ne / en pernent autre rançun 773.

It would perhaps be better to adopt the Agn. form *raansun* (cf. *St Gilles*, 2986). For other instances, cf. ll. 676, 1072, 1087, 1163, 1390, 1528, 1681.

(β) *ou*: Et meindre / ou ses chers amys 1691 (cf. below D).

(γ) *ke*: Ke / en puissez avoir aïe 124.

Also the lines 469, 805, 1146, 1327, 1403, 1487.

(δ) *le*: K'apertement le / unt vëu 1064.

(d) Vowel followed by *e* (*et*);

Ly reis escute / e entent 549 (cf. below C).

B. Metrical:

- 1. Ke de l'ewe / Osith n'issi 352.
- 2. L'ewe / ou Osith fu neée 367.

Also lines 1201, 1215, 1649.

C. Grammatical:

Bien li puisse /estre gradée 410.

D. Analogical: after a heavy consonant group;

1. Seinte /e dure e precieuse 74.

2. Et a creindre /e a doter 106.

Also lines 152, 159, 222, 233, 488, 687, 720, 1079, 1464, 1569.

Modern editors are admitting a greater use of hiatus than formerly. It is certain that it plays a great part in Agn. I have on hand a very lengthy inquiry into the octosyllabic line and its development, and in the 20000 lines I have already examined its use is evidently very extensive. It would be, however, premature to communicate any of the results here.

§ 73. Enjambement.

The feeling that secures careful observation of the rule of the couplet will make for regularity in the line itself and enjambement will be rare. The shortness of the octosyllabic line renders an overflowing into a successive line necessary occasionally. Thus Chrétien de Troyes and Raoul de Houdenc do not shrink from this licence. An enjambement such as the following¹ savours of flippancy:

Et n'an i a nul, qui n'et un

Baston cornu de corneillier (Yvain, 5514—5);

but others such as

1. Quant dui chevalier sont ansamble

Venu as armes an bataille (*Yvain*, 1694—5).

2. Chascuns grant piece mal tailliée

En ot; bien en furent peu (*Songe d'Enfer*²),

are very common.

Our poem contains the following cases:

In (B), 5 cases:

Et par les gerrons a sei (le) prist

Son mantel ke le livre obli 282—3.

Also lines 385—6, 399—400.

The enjambement that takes up the whole of the following line is very common in the octosyllable.

¹ Quoted by Tobler, *Versbau*, and Kastner, *Versification*; I quote it according to the last edition of *Yvain*.

² Quoted from Bartsch, *Langue et Littérature*, col. 244, ll. 19—20.

In (A) there are the following 4 cases :

D'iluec purveit queus enverreit

A Chich, kar ces fors mettreit 1471—2.

Also lines 1474—6 (2 cases), 1499—1500.

In the remainder of the poem we have only two cases :

E pense bien k'en son muster

Als païs doner a(vera) mester 897—8.

Ele est a seinte Osith par non

Venue par avision 1211—2.

Both of these are of the kind that is normal. In this particular again we see that the deviations from early continental usages occur most frequently in (B), less frequently in (A), and that they are not prominent in (O).

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